FAIRFIELD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
3 4106 00064 4935

DIPLOMATIC MEMOIRS

JOHN W. FOSTER

Alexander Gilchrist
Dec 3 1909.

007365
v.1

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/diplomaticmemoir0001john

By John W. Foster

THE PRACTICE OF DIPLOMACY. Large crown 8vo, $3.00, *net*. Postage 20 cents.

ARBITRATION AND THE HAGUE COURT. Crown 8vo, $1.00, *net*. Postpaid, $1.09.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE ORIENT. 8vo, $3.00, *net*. Postpaid, $3.20.

A CENTURY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. Being a Brief Review of the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1776–1876. With maps. 8vo, $3.50.

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
BOSTON AND NEW YORK

DIPLOMATIC MEMOIRS

VOLUME I

John W. Foster

DIPLOMATIC MEMOIRS

BY

JOHN W. FOSTER, 1836-1917.

Author of "A Century of American Diplomacy," "American Diplomacy in the Orient," "The Practice of Diplomacy," etc.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
1909

WITHDRAWN
FAIRFIELD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

COPYRIGHT, 1909, BY JOHN W. FOSTER

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Published November 1909

CONTENTS

I. How I entered the Diplomatic Service . 3
II. The Mission to Mexico 15
III. Social Life in Mexico 26
IV. On Horseback among the Mountains . . 35
V. Mexico under Lerdo 48
VI. A Trip to Oaxaca 61
VII. Revolutionary Mexico 71
VIII. The Triumph of Diaz 83
IX. Mexico under Diaz 97
X. Commerce and Railroads 108
XI. A Visit to the Interior Mexican States . 121
XII. From Mexico to Russia 137
XIII. The Diplomats and the Russian Court . . 150
XIV. Russian Affairs, Political and Social . . 163
XV. The Assassination of Alexander II . . . 181
XVI. Russia under Alexander III 198
XVII. My Second Mission to Russia 216
XVIII. My Mission to Spain 239
XIX. Cuban Claims and Reciprocity 250
XX. Statesmen and Diplomats at Madrid . . . 261
XXI. Spain, Social and Political 276
XXII. The Royal Family — Diplomatic Matters . 296
XXIII. A Spanish Ceremonial 314
XXIV. My Second Mission to Spain 329

ILLUSTRATIONS

John W. Foster (*photogravure*) . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Senator O. P. Morton 6

Benito Juarez, Indian President of Mexico, 1858–1872 . . 52

Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico 84

Mrs. Porfirio Diaz 100

Robert R. Hitt 144

Alexander II, Emperor of Russia 182

Serge J. de Witte 228

Alfonso XII, King of Spain 242
(*Autograph from Miss Foster's Collection.*)

Royal Palace, Madrid 272

Alfonso XIII, Queen Regent, and Infantas of Spain . . . 304

DIPLOMATIC MEMOIRS

1872–1891

DIPLOMATIC MEMOIRS

CHAPTER I

HOW I ENTERED THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

THE spirited political campaign of 1872 closed with the triumphant reëlection of General Grant as President of the United States. Indiana was classed as one of the doubtful States, and the result of the October election was looked forward to with anxiety by both political parties as indicating the trend of public sentiment. Oliver P. Morton, the leader of his party in the State and one of the foremost statesmen of his day, was a candidate for reëlection to the Senate of the United States, and he felt that his political life was at stake in the contest.

As Chairman of the Republican State Committee, I conducted the campaign which resulted in the choice of a Republican majority in the legislature, and pointed unmistakably to the success of President Grant. Senator Morton was greatly pleased, and when the returns were all in, he invited Mrs. Foster and myself to a private dinner at his residence in Indianapolis. When it was concluded, I accompanied the Senator to his private office, and he at once said that to me more than any one else was due the decisive party victory, and that he personally felt under great obligations to me which he desired to discharge. He told me to take the "Blue Book" (the register of federal officers of the United States) and select the office I wanted, and that without further trouble on my part he would see that it was given me. I replied that I had not entered on the campaign for the purpose of securing an office, and that I must take time to consider the matter; that, however, he had indicated to me

great liberty of choice; and that I might select a position for which I was not fitted or which he might not be able to secure for me. He answered that he had entire confidence in my ability, and as to securing the office I need give myself no concern on that score. The latter assertion was no vain boast on his part, for at that time there was no man in the country upon whom President Grant depended more strongly or whom he was more willing to favor.

After canvassing the matter fully with my wife, we decided that, with our young family, a brief residence in Europe would be both pleasant and useful; and I informed the Senator that if it could be had I should be gratified to receive the appointment of Minister to Switzerland, which was in the lowest grade of our diplomatic service. It will thus be seen that thirty years and more ago the diplomatic service presented the same allurement to inexperienced but ambitious young men as it seems to possess at the present day.

Upon learning my choice, the Senator approved of it and assured me that I might count on receiving the appointment soon after the re-inauguration of the President, and that I might shape my business arrangements accordingly. But during the course of the ensuing winter I received a telegram from Senator Morton asking me to come to Washington. Upon my arrival at the capital I was informed by him that he had encountered some difficulty in securing the Swiss Mission for me; that the President had promised the friends of the incumbent that he might continue in the office during the coming term; but that he had offered to appoint me to the Mexican Mission.

I was bewildered by the proposition. It was with much misgiving as to my fitness for the office I had chosen the Swiss Mission, one of the lowest and most unimportant of the diplomatic posts; and now I was tendered the highest and most difficult mission on the American hemisphere. I frankly told

the Senator that I very much doubted the wisdom of accepting such a post with my entire inexperience in diplomacy. I at the time spoke no foreign language, had never been out of my own country, and had only a text-book knowledge of international law. But the Senator only smiled at my hesitation, reasserted his confidence in my ability, and said I was much better fitted than most of those who were appointed to our diplomatic service. He asked me to go with him that evening to call on the President, who, he said, retained pleasant recollections of his army acquaintance with me. Our call at the White House was an agreeable one, General Grant alluding with interest to some incidents of our military intercourse, but no reference was made to my appointment. I returned to my home in Indiana, and in the first diplomatic nominations sent to the Senate after the President entered on his second term my name was included as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico.

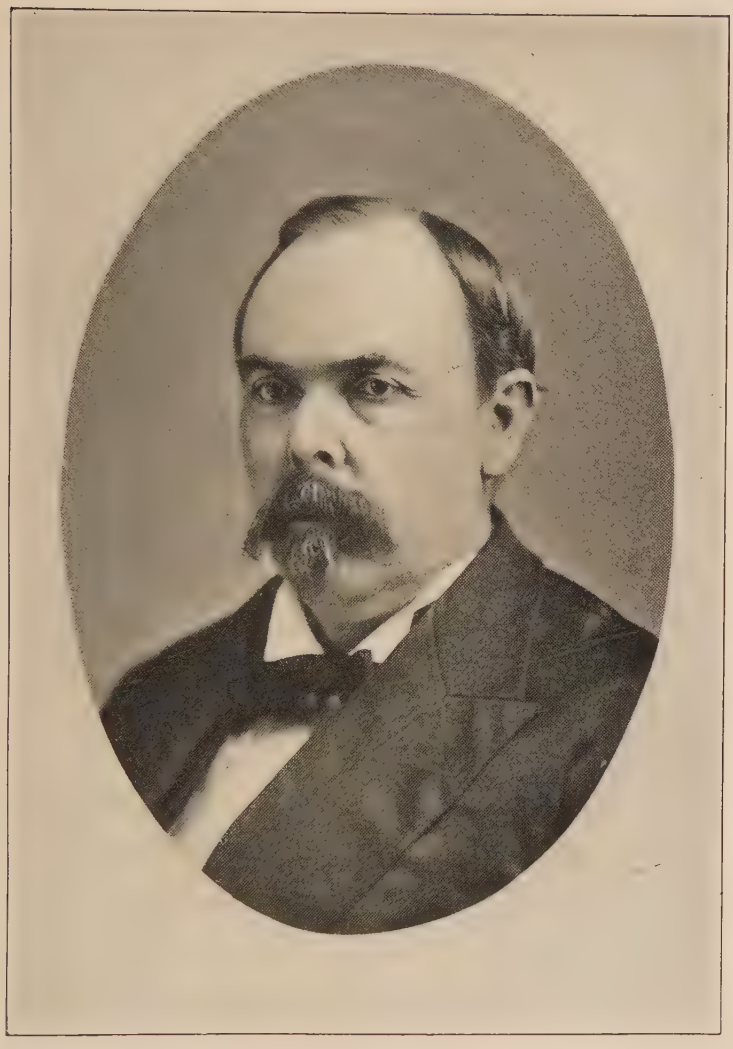
Before I left Washington an incident occurred which offered an entirely different turn to my diplomatic career. Senator Morton informed me that President Grant had decided to appoint Hon. John A. Bingham of Ohio Minister to Japan, and that Mr. Bingham had requested him to ask me if, with the President's approval, I would be willing to change places with him and allow him to go to Mexico, the two positions being of the same rank and emoluments. I asked the Senator why Mr. Bingham desired the change and was told that he, being an old man, feared that, Japan being so far away and a country with which we had so little intercourse, he would be forgotten by his friends and constituents at home. Upon reflection it occurred to me that the reason had more force with a young man who looked forward to a career in his own country, and I excused myself from the proposal.

Mr. Bingham was a man of marked ability and had enjoyed a long and honorable public service. In the Congress of the United States just closing he had supported the law

known as the Salary Bill, which not only increased the pay of members of Congress, but was retroactive in its effect. It proved an unpopular measure, was in the campaign termed the " Back-Pay Grab," and contributed to the defeat of Mr. Bingham and many other congressmen who supported it. His standing was so high with his party and in the country that the President's action in appointing him Minister to Japan was generally commended. He remained in that position for about twelve years, during a most important epoch in that country's history. He was enabled to render both to the United States and Japan valuable service, and was recognized by the Japanese as a wise counselor and constant friend.

During my visit to Washington in preparation for my journey, Senator Morton manifested a warm interest in my mission and so continued up to the time of his death in 1878, regarding with personal pride whatever success I attained. I was greatly grieved at his death, as I was more intimate with him than any other of our great men. He was truly one of our greatest statesmen and patriots. Senator Hoar has recorded in his " Autobiography" that " Morton as a great party leader had no superior in his time, save Lincoln alone." President Roosevelt, nearly thirty years after his death, in a public address, said, " When history definitely awards the credit for what was done in the Civil War, she will put the services of no other civilian, save alone those of Lincoln, ahead of the services of Governor Morton."

As I now recall my hesitation to assume the duties of such a responsible and untried position as the mission to Mexico, I see that I was not without some preparation, and that I possessed an experience of the world and of political affairs which was second only in value to actual diplomatic service. I had the benefit of a worthy ancestry, which should always exercise an important influence upon character and ability. My paternal grandfather was an English farmer, who



O. P. Morton

during the industrial depression occasioned by the Napoleonic wars sold his small possessions and emigrated to America early in the last century, bringing his family, among them my father, then in his boyhood. The latter at the age of seventeen left the temporary home in the Mohawk Valley, New York, and on foot and alone started for the great Western country, in search of a suitable location where lands could be obtained from the Government, on which to provide a home for his aged parents and build up his own career.

After traversing, with knapsack on his back, the intervening country as far as St. Louis, Missouri, he decided upon a location in southern Indiana, returned to New York, and brought out the family to the new home, where he had secured an eighty-acre tract of land in the virgin wilderness. There in a log cabin built with their own hands the family began their new life. My father soon became a large farmer, and collecting together his products and those of his neighbors he floated them down the White, the Wabash, and the Ohio rivers, tributaries of the Mississippi, and thence to New Orleans, and in the days before steamboats were common brought back the proceeds in Spanish gold coin on foot to his Indiana home, a distance of twelve hundred miles.

This employment led into mercantile life and his location at Evansville, then a growing town, now a city of no mean proportions. He acquired such knowledge of law as led his neighbors to make him a county or probate judge; he was active as councilman, bank director, church and school trustee, and in all movements for the betterment of his community. Before he left England he had served an apprenticeship in a book-store, besides which his education was only such as he gained in the scanty leisure of his hardy life. He was a great reader, his favorite books being the Bible, Shakespeare, and Burns, much of which he freely recited from memory. He became an intense American and was active in politics, especially in the anti-slavery crusade

My maternal great-grandfather served in the Virginia contingent of the Revolutionary army. My grandfather migrated from Kentucky to Indiana soon after it was organized as a Territory, acted as secretary to its first governor, General Harrison, participated with him in the Tippecanoe campaign against the Indians, was a member of the convention which framed the first constitution of Indiana, and served frequently as a member of the State Legislature. My mother died in my childhood, but not until her devotion, her gentleness, her intelligence, her deeply religious life had been indelibly fixed in my memory. Among such associations and fed upon the narrative of the experiences of such an ancestry I grew up to manhood.

My collegiate education was pursued at the State University of Indiana, from which I graduated as valedictorian of my class in 1855, at the age of nineteen, I attended the Harvard University Law School for one year, spent one year in a law office at Cincinnati, was admitted to practice law at the age of twenty-one, and located at my home in Evansville, Indiana. In the first years of my profession I was associated as partner with Conrad Baker, one of the leading lawyers of the State, a man of the highest qualities of citizenship, afterwards Governor of the State and senior partner of Thomas A. Hendricks. Something of the character of the man may be seen when I state that, while serving his term as governor, he was offered by his party adherents in the legislature the post of United States Senator, which he declined, on the ground that the people of the State had elected him governor and it was his duty to fill out the term.

The slavery agitation was the burning political question during my college days and early manhood. My home district, bordering on Kentucky and settled largely from the slave States, sympathized with the pro-slavery cause; but, following my father's views, in college I was so ardent an anti-slavery advocate that I was ranked as an "abolition-

ist," a term of opprobrium in that day and in that community. In the Frémont presidential campaign, I participated as actively as I could as a minor, and in the exciting Lincoln campaign of 1860, I gave much of my time to the organization of the Republican party, — then largely in the minority in my section, — and in addressing the people at political meetings.

My whole soul was enlisted in the anti-slavery cause, and when the Civil War, following the inauguration of President Lincoln, burst upon the country, my first impulse was to join the army of the Union, but for a few months I was constrained in my action. The rush of volunteers was much greater than the allotment in Indiana. I had just established myself in a little home, and it required a most grave necessity to have me leave my young wife and child. Besides I had no special taste for soldiering. But when the President's call for three hundred thousand men for three years' enlistment came, I saw that the rebellion meant a serious conflict and that the call was loudest upon those who had professed devotion to the anti-slavery cause. I enlisted in the army for three years, and without any solicitation on my part Governor Morton, who knew of my service in the Lincoln political campaign, sent me a commission as major of the Twenty-Fifth Indiana Volunteers. During my service of three and a half years I participated in many important engagements, commanded three different Indiana regiments, was brigade and district commander, and at the close of my service was at the head of a division of cavalry. I served under and was brought into personal contact and acquaintance with Generals Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Burnside, and other department and corps commanders. My military life greatly enlarged my knowledge of men and gave me fuller confidence in myself.

My early participation in party affairs had given me a taste for politics, and at the close of the Civil War I was

naturally led to take a deep interest in the reconstruction questions which agitated the country. Yielding to this inclination, I became the editor of the leading newspaper of my section of the State. Such a position affords one an excellent opportunity to study the various political questions which arise in the country, and their editorial discussion tends to broaden and clarify one's ideas of public affairs. In the years succeeding the war I continued to give some attention to party organization, and, as stated, in the presidential campaign of 1872 I was at the head of the Republican State Committee.

Through the management of the State campaign I was brought into personal contact with many prominent men of national reputation. Among these were, from my own State, O. P. Morton, R. W. Thompson, Schuyler Colfax, Benj. Harrison; from other States, John Sherman, Henry Wilson, Geo. F. Boutwell, John A. Logan, John M. Harlan, B. H. Bristow, Wm. P. Frye, Zach. Chandler, Carl Schurz, Fredk. Douglass, Robert G. Ingersoll.

My acquaintance with James G. Blaine which continued to the close of his life began in this campaign, as will be seen from the following characteristic letter to me: —

AUGUSTA, ME., 10th Nov. 1872.

MY DEAR SIR:

I cannot allow this great campaign to pass out of fresh memory without extending to you my very cordial congratulations upon the masterly manner in which you organized Indiana.

With fourteen years' experience as Chairman of our own Committee I naturally observe somewhat closely the tides and currents in other States, and I know from my own observation and from what others told me that your work was done with wonderful thoroughness. It was my great desire to have got into your State and participated in your canvass

and especially to have had the pleasure of making your personal acquaintance, but when I reached Ohio, they simply drafted me for the campaign *vi et armis* and I could not get away.

If you visit Washington during the coming winter, I beg that you will do me the honor to call at my house — 821 15th St., where you will find the latch-string out and on pulling it will meet a Western welcome.

Very truly yours,

J. G. Blaine.

Hon. Jno. W. Foster.

I called on Mr. Blaine in Washington the next winter, was very cordially received by him in the Speaker's Room, and invited to dine with him the same evening, saying there would be a company of gentlemen at his table whom he thought I would be pleased to meet.

I cannot refrain from narrating an incident of that dinner. When Mr. Blaine went home from the Capitol he told Mrs. Blaine he had invited an additional number of gentlemen, among them the Secretary of the Navy, George M. Robeson, and that she must be sure to serve some Madeira, as that was the Secretary's favorite wine; to which she replied that there was not a bottle in the house. "Well," he said, "send to the grocer and get some, as we must have it."

The Speaker was in his best humor that evening, and as he looked down the table when the Madeira was being served, he saw the Secretary testing its aroma, whereupon he arrested the conversation of the guests by addressing the Secretary in a voice which attracted general attention: "Robeson, I hope you will like that Madeira, for it has a history"; and then he proceeded to invent a story of how it belonged to a cask of a choice vintage which had made a trip around the world in a sailing-vessel to temper its quality, had been brought to Washington by a European

diplomat, had been bought, at the sale of his effects when he left the country, by a retired commodore of the Navy, and lain in his cellar in Philadelphia for years, and that he, Blaine, had received from his friend the commodore, a few bottles, and this they were now drinking was the last of it. Secretary Robeson, who was a great connoisseur of wine, listened with marked attention, and responded that he knew from its delicate aroma and delicious taste it must have a history, and proceeded to praise it in extravagant terms. Mr. Blaine never omitted an opportunity when he found his friend in congenial company to tell the story on him.

The brief review which I have given of my life up to my appointment as Minister to Mexico shows, I trust, that, while I had no personal knowledge of diplomatic service, I was not without some preparation for the new and important duties which I was about to assume. My training as a lawyer, my early participation in the discussion and settlement of one of the most momentous questions which ever agitated a people, my army service, my editorial work, my activity in politics and intercourse with public men, all tended to prepare me for the untried service upon which I was then to enter. Had I begun my career after college graduation by appointment as a Secretary of Legation, for instance, and risen by long service and merit to the mission to Mexico, I would have been free from the misgivings and trepidation which marked my acceptance of the appointment, for I would have been thoroughly versed in the routine duties; but I might not have possessed that strength of character and ability to meet men in the discussion of weighty matters which I had acquired by the experiences through which I had passed.

I am a strong advocate for the establishment of a regular career for the diplomatic service of the United States; I would have all Secretaries of Legation enter the service through a competitive examination; continue in office during

good behavior; and, as they should prove worthy, have them promoted to Ministers. But I doubt whether the time will ever come when our Government will think it wise to confine the appointment of Ministers and Ambassadors entirely to promotions from the posts of Secretary. It has never been so in the Governments of Europe where the regular diplomatic career has long been an established system. Many of their most useful and distinguished diplomats have been those who never entered the service through a competitive examination, but who were appointed from other branches of the public service or from private life.

After I received official notice of my nomination I had the usual experience of newly-appointed Ministers. I went to Washington to pay my respects to the President, make the acquaintance of the Secretary of State and his subordinates, and to receive my instructions. My first visit to the Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, could not have been more satisfactory or reassuring. I shall have occasion to refer again to this useful and distinguished statesman.

During this visit to Washington I had my first experience of a diplomatic dinner. Señor Don Ignacio Mariscal was then the resident Mexican Minister. He had been almost continuously in the service of Mexico at Washington since 1863 and was one of the best-known and most useful diplomats at the Capital. He received me on this visit with the utmost kindness and did everything possible to prepare for me a hearty welcome at the City of Mexico. Before leaving the city he gave a dinner in my honor, to which he invited a number of Latin-American and European diplomats. As I had never before been in such society, I confess to a feeling of considerable awe and strangeness, where insignia and decorations of nobility and orders were conspicuous, and where Spanish and French were the languages most used, with both of which I was then unfamiliar.

In this visit to Washington I had a foretaste of the duties

which occupied much of my time and occasioned me no small embarrassment during my official residence in Mexico. I was waited upon by various American citizens or their attorneys, who sought to enlist my interest in claims against the Government of Mexico, growing out of injuries alleged to have been sustained to their persons or property and for which they maintained that Government was responsible. Among these callers was General B. F. Butler, then a member of Congress, a political and Civil War celebrity. When a law student at Harvard University I had frequently seen him in the Boston courts in contests with Rufus Choate and other prominent lawyers. The reputation he had then of being a very shrewd but not over-conscientious individual had followed him through life, and was confirmed in the somewhat lengthy interview I had with him about his claim, which grew out of a contract which a company, of which he was the most prominent member, had with the Government of Mexico for the colonization of Lower California. After some years the Mexican Government annulled the contract on the ground that the company had failed to comply with its conditions and that it was really a filibustering scheme to annex Lower California to the United States. The General and his company gave the Department of State much trouble, but they were never able to fix any responsibility on the Mexican Government.

CHAPTER II

THE MISSION TO MEXICO

While in Washington, receiving the instructions for my mission, I renewed my acquaintance with General William T. Sherman, then General-in-Chief of the Army of the United States. Early in the war I was under his immediate command and in daily association with him at Benton Barracks, St. Louis, when he was under a cloud, being regarded as having an unbalanced mind, because he first of all our leaders realized the magnitude of the rebellion and had the courage to make known his views to the authorities at Washington. I afterwards served under him at the battle of Shiloh and in the advance on Corinth, as also later in East Tennessee. He received me in Washington with the hearty hospitality which characterized him, and at one of our meetings he inquired by what route I expected to go to Mexico. At that period the only regular communication from the Atlantic States was by steamer sailing from New York once in three weeks for Vera Cruz, via Havana and intermediate ports, the journey occupying about fourteen days. I told the General I should have to take that route. "That will never do," he said. "I will speak to Robeson [Secretary of the Navy] and have a man-of-war sent to New Orleans to take you to Vera Cruz." And he was as good as his word, for in a few days I had official notice from the Navy Department that a naval vessel would be at New Orleans at a date to be agreed upon to carry me to Mexico.

New Orleans in those days was seeking to recover its commercial prestige, diminished by the war and the reconstruction era, and was looking hopefully to Mexico for new ave-

nues of trade. The Chamber of Commerce, anticipating my arrival, had prepared for me a reception, at which speeches were exchanged, in which on both sides were expressed great hopes of the early development of an intimate and profitable commerce between that city and the Mexican Gulf ports — hopes fondly cherished and repeatedly expressed in later years, but not yet realized. A committee of the Chamber of Commerce conducted myself and family in a commodious steamer to the mouth of the Mississippi, where we were to meet the naval vessel, and entertained us en route with a sumptuous lunch, which proved a preparation ill fitting us for our first journey on the sea.

When we reached the mouth of the great river, a stiff breeze was blowing and the man-of-war lay at quite a distance outside the bar, and to her we had to be transferred in small boats. This passage in the rough sea was too much for us landsmen. I was barely able to receive the honors which the punctilious commodore had prepared for the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and when they were over I "went below," not to reappear till we were in sight of the harbor of Vera Cruz.

On my arrival in the City of Mexico I was welcomed at the railway station by my predecessor, Hon. Thomas H. Nelson, and every needed courtesy extended to me by him, even the unusual one of accompanying me to the National Palace and introducing me to the President, at the ceremony of the presentation of my credentials. He might have felt justified in treating me with cold civility, as we were both citizens of the State of Indiana and acquaintances of several years' standing. He desired to remain in the service, had been longer prominent in politics than I, and might have pleaded greater services to the party. When the Mexican Mission was suggested to me by Senator Morton, I expressed a reluctance to its acceptance because an Indianian and a friend held the post, but the Senator said the President had decided upon

a change, and it would be filled by another if I did not take it.

Mr. Nelson had for six years previous to his appointment to Mexico served as Minister to Chili. He was thoroughly patriotic, an ardent American, distinguished as an orator, of genial manners and convivial habits which made him popular in social and diplomatic circles. He was not a student, and hence failed to master the subjects he had in hand; added to which a certain triviality of temperament possibly led to his retirement from the service. In diplomacy, as in most other pursuits of life, strict devotion to duty and a mastery of the matters one has in hand usually lead to success.

I was fortunate in finding in charge of the Mexican Department of Foreign Affairs an accomplished scholar and a cultivated gentleman. Señor Don José M. Lafragua, Minister or Secretary of the Foreign Office, was a lawyer by profession, of high literary attainments, an historian, and a statesman of much experience. He was a fine type of the old Spanish *hidalgo*, courtly in his manners, always dressed in a black broadcloth suit, with a stiff stock about the neck, and wore colored spectacles. The following, somewhat abbreviated, was the introductory part of our first meeting and conversation. I was accompanied to the Foreign Office by the Secretary of the Legation, who spoke Spanish fluently. After being presented and seated, the Minister addressed me an inquiry in Spanish.

The Secretary interpreted it: "The Minister says he hopes Your Excellency is well."

I replied: "Tell the Minister that I am in perfect health."

The Secretary to the Minister: "His Excellency requests me to say that he is in perfect health."

Another inquiry from the Minister in Spanish which the Secretary interpreted: "The Minister desires to be informed as to the state of health of Señora de Foster."

I replied: "Say to the Minister that I am pleased to inform him that Mrs. Foster is very well."

The Secretary to the Minister: "His Excellency says he is pleased to inform the Minister that Mrs. Foster is very well."

Another question from the Minister interpreted by the Secretary: "The Minister asks respecting the health of His Excellency's children."

I answered: "Kindly assure the Minister that my children are in good health."

The Secretary to the Minister: "His Excellency asks me to assure the Minister that his children are in good health."

The Minister then drew from a side-pocket a beautiful cigarette-case, opened it, and, extending it to me, said in Spanish interpreted by the Secretary, "Will His Excellency do me the favor to accept a cigarette?"

The Secretary: "The Minister asks Your Excellency to do him the favor to accept a cigarette."

I responded: "Beg the Minister to excuse me and make my apology that I never smoke."

The Secretary to the Minister: "His Excellency begs the Minister to excuse him and requests me to apologize that he never smokes."

Again the Minister speaks and the Secretary repeats: "The Minister directs me to ask if smoking is offensive to Your Excellency."

I said: "Assure the Minister that on the contrary tobacco smoke is quite agreeable to me."

The Secretary to the Minister: "His Excellency says that, on the contrary, tobacco smoke is quite agreeable to him."

Whereupon the Minister, rising, extends the cigarette-case to the Secretary, addressing him in Spanish, the latter, better trained than I in diplomatic ways, accepts a cigarette; the Minister strikes a match, lights the Secretary's cigarette and one for himself, they are seated, and after some further

inquiries of me, duly interpreted by the Secretary, as to the experiences of our journey, in which several more minutes were consumed, I was permitted to state the business which brought me to the Foreign Office.

In the hundred and more visits which I made to Señor Lafragua, the conversation which I have quoted above, with the cigarette episode, was invariably repeated almost verbatim. After a few such calls, I found that I must either learn Spanish or accustom myself to the use of the cigarette. I chose the former alternative, and after some months of assiduous study and practice, I was enabled to carry on a conversation at the Foreign Office without the aid of a secretary, and in due time began to appreciate the value in my mission of a free use of the language of the country. An ambitious diplomat would doubtless have accepted the two accomplishments of the service, and made use of the cigarette-case as well as the language.

One of the matters which first commanded my attention after I was installed in the Legation at Mexico was to make the acquaintance of the American colony. I was told that there was no "American colony" worthy of the name. It is true there were few American residents compared with the present day. There was no railroad communication, and intercourse between the two countries was dependent on ships from New York at rare intervals and travel overland through the sparsely settled regions of the frontier. I had, however, little trouble in finding quite a number of countrymen in the City of Mexico and its vicinity.[1]

[1] In a dispatch to the Department in 1875, I made the following report: "The number of adult Americans at present residing in the Federal District (the Capital and vicinity) is about one hundred and thirty, of which sixty are heads of families, representing an American population of almost three hundred and fifty. The occupations of these residents are: A few merchants, several teachers and professors in private and public schools, editors, officers and employes of the Mexico and Vera Cruz Railroad, civil engineers, superintendents of estates, mechanics and laborers."

My credentials to the Government were presented June 16, 1873, and I issued an invitation to all the male Americans, whose addresses I could ascertain, within easy reach of the Capital, to meet me at dinner on the Fourth of July in celebration of the national anniversary. Between fifty and sixty citizens responded to the invitation. The unusual event, celebrated in one of the tivolis or restaurants in the suburbs of the city, attracted general notice and favorable comment by the native and foreign press of the Capital. The "Two Republics," edited by an American, said: "It was a joyous occasion replete with harmony, patriotism, and American fellowship — a proud exhibition which has not been witnessed in this Capital, lo! these many years. . . . This day marked a new era of American nationality in Mexico, which had been allowed, disgracefully, to dwindle into comparative insignificance." The writer of this notice was an ex-Confederate major, who came to Mexico at the close of our Civil War rather than live under the Government of the restored Union. There were quite a number of other ex-Confederate soldiers present at the dinner, and none were more enthusiastic participants in the national festival.

As indicating my purpose in giving the entertainment, my readers will indulge me in a little "Fourth of July oratory" by reproducing my introductory remarks on the occasion: —

Fellow Countrymen, — I had two objects in view in inviting you to meet me in this manner to-day. Being a stranger to every American citizen resident in Mexico on my recent arrival, I have adopted this method of making your acquaintance, and I congratulate myself on so large, intelligent, and respectable an assemblage of my fellow countrymen. I had been told that there were very few Americans in Mexico, and very little congeniality, sympathy, and sociability among them. I am sure the present company abundantly disproves that assertion. I am certain that what America is and what

Americans have achieved at home and abroad offer no reason why we should be ashamed of our country, our citizenship, or of each other's society. I hoped by thus affording an opportunity for Americans to meet together, we might become better acquainted with each other, promote social intercourse, and in some measure elevate the standard of American citizenship in the place of our present residence.

I regretted to learn that for many years there had been no general observance of our national anniversary by the Americans of Mexico as a body. I was unwilling that this Fourth of July should pass by without some commemoration of American Independence, in which all its citizens would have an opportunity to unite. I am gratified that you have so heartily seconded my wish. Certainly there never was a time when Americans had more abundant cause to rejoice in their country's greatness and glory than to-day.

Never has she occupied so proud a position among the nations of the earth. Never in her past history was there greater freedom, more perfect equality, observance of law and order, widespread intelligence and prosperity, peace and happiness than now. And coming as I do so recently from the United States, I am happy to assure you that the terrible wounds made in our country by the late Civil War are rapidly being healed; the spirit of conciliation is fast taking the place of resentment; and, with solitary exceptions in a few localities, there is a general disposition on the part of all our people to look, not to the past, but to the busy present and the future. The changed condition of the country and the constitution are accepted facts, and under the glorious old Flag of our Fathers and as one united and indissoluble nation, we are going forward in a grander career of progress, usefulness, and greatness than ever before. Whatever may be our party or sectional sympathies, I am sure that, away from our homes in this foreign land, we can sink them all in the higher and nobler sentiment of nationality, and regard each other as the

honored members of one common family. I can assure you that officially and socially I will know you only as Americans.

From that day forward to the present time, with few omissions, the national anniversary has been celebrated annually in the City of Mexico by the American residents, and its observance has had a healthful influence in keeping alive their attachment to their country and its institutions. I sought to make my entertainment of permanent value, and at the close of the dinner, before the guests dispersed, I suggested that they organize themselves into a society. I said to them that in my brief residence I had found that there were unfortunate countrymen often calling for needed relief. Thereupon all those present cheerfully united in forming the American Benevolent Society, sustained by annual dues; which has proved a great blessing to many a stranded or sick American; and the outgrowth of which is the excellent American Hospital in the City of Mexico.

The Benevolent Society relieved me of many calls which are common to our legations abroad to aid distressed or impecunious countrymen, but it not infrequently came in my way to render needed and appreciated service. I give an instance by way of illustration. A young man just out of college and with his "wild oats" not all sown, the son of a prominent and worthy citizen and proprietor of the leading newspaper in one of the large cities of the United States, induced his father to give him an outing to New Orleans. He there fell into the company of convivial companions. A steamer was sailing for Vera Cruz, and they told him of the great opportunities for business and speculations in Mexico, the *eldorado* of adventurers. These stories recalled his reading of Prescott, and contrary to his father's expectations of an early return home, he took passage on the steamer to try his fortunes in the land of Cortez and the gold-hunters. He arrived in the City of Mexico fleeced of the money which was

to have taken him back home, and surrounded with disreputable associates.

My attention was called to his wretched situation after he had been some time in the city. I had made the acquaintance of his father in the meetings of the Associated Press, and feeling a personal interest in the case, I brought about a visit by the young man to the Legation, and with the exercise of a little diplomacy extracted from him the story of his sad plight. He took my friendly advice in good part, and agreed to go back to his home if he could be provided with the means of doing so. I took him to one of the banks, had him draw a draft on his father, which I endorsed and had cashed for him. Under the oversight of a passenger going to the States, he took passage on the next steamer, and returned to his home. Some time after I heard of his marriage, and that he had settled down to succeed to the management of his father's business.

In due time I received a most expressive letter from the father, thanking me for saving his boy, as he termed it, and hoping that an opportunity might come to him to repay my kindness. On my next visit to the United States he gave prominent editorial notice to it in his paper, and stated that my return had been made the occasion in the cities through which I had passed "of an ovation such as few public men receive in this country for having faithfully discharged the duties of their office." Not content with this somewhat imaginative account, he spoke of my record in the war, as a lawyer, and a diplomatist, and he referred to me as a citizen "of eminent scholarly attainments who had devoted much time to the archæological history of America," a branch of knowledge to which I had given no attention, the grateful father in his zeal confounding me with a distinguished savant of the same name of another State! So long as he lived, his paper never omitted an opportunity to speak kindly, even extravagantly, of my public services.

In order to do my share in keeping fresh in the minds of my absent fellow citizens the festive institutions at least of our country, my first Fourth of July dinner was followed in November by the observance of the National Thanksgiving Day. All resident and visiting Americans were invited to the Legation on the evening of that day, and many of the Mexican official and private society attended. The President's proclamation was read, and patriotic songs and social gayety marked the occasion. Such meetings were held on each recurring Thanksgiving Day during my residence in Mexico. The President of the Republic, members of the Cabinet and of Congress, of the army and of unofficial society were often present, and thus had an object-lesson that our nation, though without a state church, was not without recognition of religion and of an overruling Providence.

Washington's Birthday was marked by the annual meeting of the American Benevolent Society, and usually by a public reception and ball at the Legation. There being no suitable portrait of Washington available in the city, the Americans subscribed a fund and had a life-sized portrait of the Father of his Country painted by an eminent Mexican artist, and presented it to the Minister, to adorn the Legation library and to to be used at the celebration of national holidays.

Neither were the little folks neglected. On Christmas Day all the children of the American and English families and of other English-speaking residents were gathered at the Legation to enjoy the Christmas-tree and youthful sports. In addition to these annual gatherings, the Legation was opened informally on Tuesday evenings for the reception of such friends of the Minister's family as found it convenient to call. A smoking-room was at the service of the gentlemen, Mrs. Foster served a cup of tea and other light refreshments during the evening, and if the size and character of the company warranted it the spacious Legation library was available

for a dance. These weekly Tuesday evening receptions were neither extravagant nor ostentatious, but they proved very popular and became quite a social feature of the Capital, affording the resident and visiting English-speaking and Mexican families an opportunity of making each other's acquaintance not often otherwise presented, and thus promoting better social relations.

Observing the custom of the Catholic countries, Sunday in Mexico was made the social day of the week. After morning service at the church, the remainder of the day was given up to visiting, dinner-giving, and private or public enjoyment, it being the day chosen for the bull-fights, and the theatres were open in the evening. Calls were made on us by foreigners and Mexicans on Sunday afternoons, but they were not returned by us on that day, nor did we accept invitations to breakfasts or dinners or give such entertainments. At home it had been our practice to observe Sunday as a religious and rest day, and we did not think it necessary to abandon our custom. Our friends in Mexico soon came to understand us, and in a little while we ceased to be embarrassed by calls or invitations. We were regarded by them as a little odd, but we never found that we suffered thereby in their good esteem.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL LIFE IN MEXICO

To a foreign resident of Mexico in "the seventies" the absence of facilities of communication with the outer world most impressed him. The one railroad in the country was that from the seaport of Vera Cruz to the Capital, two hundred and sixty miles in length. The only regular communication with the United States was by steamer leaving Vera Cruz for New York once in three weeks. The British Royal Mail steamer and the French line for St. Nazaire, making the itinerary of the West Indies, touched at Vera Cruz monthly. During the first years of my residence there was no telegraphic communication with the outside world. Later an overland line was established, with a single wire running through the long stretch of desert and thinly settled country of Northern Mexico. In that timberless region the poles which supported the wire were of the most flimsy character and were favorite objects with which the range cattle scratched their backs. As a consequence the line was down more often than in working order. It was quite common for me to receive the confirmatory copy of official telegrams from the Department by mail, ten days from date, before the originals were delivered. Such a thing as the publication of telegraphic news in the press of the Capital was unknown in my day.

Having been an editor and addicted to reading the news, on leaving for my mission I took the precaution to have myself supplied with the current periodical literature. Two daily papers from my home city were subscribed for, one from the State Capital, one from Washington, and two from New

York, besides a number of weekly and monthly journals and magazines. When our mail arrived from the United States by the New York steamer once in three weeks, it was dleivered to me literally by the bushel and sometimes even by the cartload. How to read up the news was a serious problem. My wife, with a woman's instinct to "get at things," went straight for the latest paper, but with my methodical training I began by arranging all my dailies in chronological order and reading up from the earliest to the latest dates, but it was tedious work and I soon abandoned that method.

The Mexican postage at that period was a matter of some consequence. Every letter from the United States, in addition to our domestic rate, was charged twenty-five cents per half-ounce. This charge constituted a considerable item in the Legation contingent account.

In those days much the greater part of Mexican commerce and correspondence was with Europe, and for the foreign residents the most important event was the arrival of the monthly European steamer. "Mail-week" was the busy time for the foreign bankers and merchants — that is, a few days before the arrival of the steamer in preparation for the outgoing mail and the few days the steamer was lying in port awaiting the return mail from the Capital. In these circles all was confinement to office-work during mail-week. But after the mail had gone a season of relaxation and recreation followed, and it was taken advantage of for picnics and excursions to the many attractive places in the Valley of Mexico or even across the mountains to the capital cities of Cuernavaca, Toluca or Pachuca, or to Puebla by rail.

A large-hearted Scotchman had a cotton factory, with a commodious residence and beautiful garden attached, nestling among the foothills of the snow-clad volcanoes of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, about ten leagues from the Capital. Here he had entertained Lieutenant U. S. Grant and other American officers of General Scott's army, on their way to

an unsuccessful attempt to reach the peak of Popocatepetl. Here many a British-American party was entertained in my day. Texcoco, across the lake from the city, was also a favorite object of a two or three days' excursion. A genial French mill-owner dispensed a cheerful hospitality at his home, surrounded by charming grounds, fountains and rivulets of mountain water. The Aztec ruins scattered over the hillsides in profusion afforded objects of interest; and the *hacienda* or plantation of a rich Spaniard near by, encircled by broad fields of grain and pulque (*maguey*) plants, afforded a most comfortable and welcome rest on the way. On the other side of the valley, favorite picnic resorts were the beautiful suburb of San Angel, where the mountain-stream, fresh from its fountain of snow, rushed over the cascade; and "El Desierto," an extensive abandoned monastery, hid away in the dense forest high up on the mountain.

These excursions about the valley were all made on horseback, the gentlemen of the party invariably carrying firearms; and when a foreign minister was of the party, the Government sent along a mounted military escort. In the troublous times of the Lerdo Administration, and while the Diaz revolution was active, often even within sight of the Capital the highwayman made the roads hazardous, and the kidnapper rendered residence in the country insecure. The mail coaches from the interior were not infrequently "held up" and the passengers came into the city with newspapers for their only apparel. On my first arrival I was entertained by the blood-curdling narrative of the kidnapping of a rich *hacendado,* or planter, almost under the shadow of the city gate and the horrible torture to which he was subjected in order to induce his friends to send the enormous ransom demanded. Too often these inhuman outlaws were successful in extorting the ransom, but in this instance the kidnappers, thanks to the vigilance of the Government, were found and immediately, without trial or hearing, were placed

against a wall and shot to death. The condition of the country at that time recalled the days of the old Hebrew judges, when it is recorded "the highways were unoccupied and the travelers walked through byways." But this condition did not deter the foreign colony intent on an outing, and only seemed to add piquancy to the excursions.

The American, English, German, and French residents found among themselves congenial society, but it was not so easy to break through the crust of the Mexican and Spanish upper circles. As we came to speak the language and became more familiar with their customs, they began to come to the receptions at the Legation, and we were welcome guests in their homes; so that before we left the country many of our warmest friends were among the higher classes of Mexican society. There was a certain reserve in this society towards foreign acquaintance, but when this was overcome they were found by us most cordial and hospitable. The more wealthy Mexican families lived in commodious mansions; once in a few years they gave a grand "*tertulia*" or evening party and ball, but dinner-giving to which foreigners were invited was not common among them. On their *haciendas*, or country estates, however, they dispensed a prodigal hospitality, to which foreigners were often welcome guests.

Dinner-giving was quite in vogue with a few of the foreign families and members of the diplomatic corps, but the cuisine of most households was limited, and social clubs were not organized till a later date. When a large dinner or banquet was to be given resort was often had to the use of the popular restaurants or tivolis in the suburbs. I recall a dinner served by Poraz, the French proprietor of the leading tivoli, because it was vividly impressed on all the participants. A Scotch gentleman from California, with a charming American wife, had been spending some months in Mexico seeking a railway concession. In return for many courtesies received,

he gave a large entertainment, or "breakfast," as it was termed, at this tivoli. The ladies and gentlemen were invited for twelve, noon, but did not sit down at the table till one o'clock. It was a long course dinner, as was the custom at such feasts there, interspersed with toasts and speeches in great variety. The dinner was a good one, well served, but a little tedious, as we did not rise from the table till after 5 o'clock; its most notable feature was a beautiful Sèvres china service, which Poraz had just brought back with him from a recent trip to Paris, and used then for the first time, commanding the admiration and envy of the ladies especially.

But the entertainment was not yet ended, as we all repaired to the *boliche*, or bowling-alley, or sat under the shade of the great trees of the garden, smoking, sipping cordials, or drinking tea and *pousse-café*. The company did not disperse till after six o'clock, quite a number, ourselves among them, hurrying off to the city to take a little rest and change our dress; for we were invited by a diplomat to dine with him at 7 o'clock, as a farewell to the Scotch railroad promoter. With great exertion we reached the house of our host at the hour indicated, still sated with the tivoli breakfast, when we were ushered out to the dining-room, to be served by Poraz, on his new Sèvres porcelain, precisely the same menu we had been regaled with at the tivoli only an hour or so before!

During the early part of my residence in Mexico the Diplomatic Corps was very small. This was occasioned by the overthrow of the so-called Empire and the execution of Maximilian. Those events were followed by the withdrawal of the British, French, Spanish, Austrian, and Belgian Ministers, all those nations having been concerned in the tripartite intervention of 1861 against the Liberal Government or associated with the maintenance of the Empire. The German and Italian Governments being free from those

entanglements, accredited Ministers to the Republic under Juarez; and the Spanish, never very heartily in the intervention, soon afterwards sent a representative. These, with a Guatemalan, constituted the Diplomatic Corps on my arrival.

Because of the absence of representatives of the leading European Powers, there was thrown upon the Legation of the United States a large amount of unofficial duties. I was called upon from time to time to exercise my good offices with the Mexican Government, by eight different countries, to wit, Great Britain, France, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Russia, Sweden, and Japan. And as it became necessary for the Mexican Government also at times to communicate with some of these countries, my good offices were invoked by it for such purpose.

I was asked most frequently to act in behalf of British interests. The first note I addressed to the Mexican Foreign Office was in behalf of a British mercantile and banking house, which was seeking to establish a large claim for damages caused by the acts of the Mexican authorities. British bankers, merchants, and mining companies were established throughout the Republic, and during my entire term of service I was repeatedly called upon to interpose in their behalf.

My relations with the British residents were quite intimate and cordial, they regarding me as their *de facto* Minister, and the London Foreign Office made frequent expressions of appreciation of my service, which it would have put into the form of decorations; but that, happily for the good of our foreign service, is not permitted by our Government. From the other Governments named, I also received repeated expressions of thanks for the good offices rendered to their subjects and their interests.

The French population of Mexico was more numerous than the British, but was not of such a character in its business

relations as to require so much of my time, although I was frequently called upon for my good offices, as in the case of the French Sisters of Charity, related in the next chapter. These Sisters before their departure sent a delegation to the Legation to express their thanks for my interposition.

The diplomatic estrangement caused by the overthrow of the Maximilian régime passed away with the lapse of time, and during the successful administration of President Diaz all of the leading Powers not only of Europe but of the world have established permanent relations with his Government. By the changes of the representatives and my higher rank, I soon became the dean of the Diplomatic Corps. My relations with my colleagues were always of the most cordial character. The first German Minister during my residence, Count Gustave Enzenberg, was an experienced diplomat and cultivated gentleman, but somewhat eccentric. He wore prominent scars on his face, not indicative of military service, but caused by dueling in his student days. At the age of seventy-six he became enamoured with his niece, of less than half his age. Because of his Protestantism and the consanguineal relation, a dispensation from the Church had to be obtained, the niece being a devout Catholic, and he did not hesitate to complain to his intimate friends that it was a very costly proceeding. The marriage ceremony, which was celebrated in the private chapel of the Archbishop, took place at four o'clock in the morning. At his special request the Diplomatic Corps attended in full uniform. As a diplomatic costume is forbidden in the service of our Government, I gratified the old Minister by appearing in the military uniform I wore in the army. As the wedding occurred in the early morning after our National Thanksgiving Day, which we were celebrating with a ball in the Legation, we "made a night of it," and went from the ball to the Archbishop's palace.

Another narrative of my relations with my venerable

colleague may be related, because it illustrates the defects in my education and also the weather conditions in Mexico. The Count was passionately fond of music, especially of the German masters. A countryman of his, a professional of some note, was in the city, and he invited a select party of his friends to a private musicale in the Legation. It was in the rainy season, and about an hour before the time fixed for the entertainment the windows of heaven were opened and such a torrent of rain came down as had not fallen for years. The city was in those days practically without sewers, and the streets were so flooded it became hazardous to make the journey to the Legation in the darkness.

It was out of the question for Mrs. Foster to go, but fearing the Count might be disappointed by others of his guests, I decided to attend, thinking to excuse myself and slip away after the musicale was begun. But lo! I was the only one of the guests who appeared, the elements were so threatening. I supposed the entertainment would be postponed, but, no; the Count's passion for music would not permit the opportunity to pass, and so the entire recital was gone through with, and there being no chance for me to escape as I had planned, I was compelled to sit through two hours and listen to classical music which I could not enjoy, as I was utterly untutored in the art and could hardly distinguish one note or tune from another. My host, however, was enthusiastic. When the last note sounded, I would gladly have taken my leave, but a sumptuous supper had been provided, and my hospitable host would not allow me to go till that was served. Some time after midnight I managed to reach the Legation in safety, much to the relief of my anxious wife, who had looked for my early return.

The renewal of diplomatic relations with the European Governments, which had been broken off on the death of Maximilian, has already been mentioned. The last of those to reëstablish relations was Austria, whose archduke had

been so ruthlessly slain by the Republican Government of Mexico. This was brought about by the delicate attentions of the Mexican Government and the honors paid by the army at the dedication of the memorial chapel which had been erected at Queretaro on the spot where Maximilian was shot.

A strange sequel has followed the renewal of relations. The first Mexican Minister appointed to Vienna died there after only a two days' illness, within four months after his arrival; and his successor, Don José de Zenil, a diplomat of culture and experience, had a still more frightful experience, being found dead in his bed one morning soon after his arrival at his post. The Mexicans are possibly not over-superstitious, but they have come to regard Austria as fated to bring misfortune on their country, the sudden deaths of those two Ministers have added to that conviction, and Vienna is no longer regarded as a desirable post by Mexican diplomats.

CHAPTER IV

ON HORSEBACK AMONG THE MOUNTAINS

Combining a study of the country with recreation, we had frequent resort to excursions or journeys to the more distant States of the Mexican Republic. One of these was a horseback trip from Cordova to Jalapa, in the State of Vera Cruz. I find an account of it, written by me at the time, in a letter to one of my daughters, then at school in the United States. As it gives my fresh impressions of the journey, although somewhat familiar in style, I transcribe it.

Vera Cruz, Mexico, January 13, 1875.

My dear Edith — Your mamma and I are here on our way back to the Legation from a long horseback trip, and as we have an opportunity to send letters by an English steamer going to Galveston this afternoon, I thought I would write you a hurried account of it.

We left Mexico City just ten days ago and came down to Cordova, where we arrived at half-past one in the afternoon. Dr. Russell had our horses and guide all ready, and as soon as we had our dinner we left on our trip, intending to ride along the mountains to Jalapa, more than a hundred miles away. Our party consisted of Mamma, Mr. Gibbon [my private secretary], myself, our guide, and an *arriero* [a pack-driver]. As every one said the route was safe, we did not take an escort, although the Government offered one. As we were to be entertained at *haciendas* on the way, we feared the soldiers might be a burden to our hosts.

Mamma brought her saddle with her, but the rest of us rode on Mexican saddles. You would have enjoyed seeing us starting out from Cordova, all of us with broad-brimmed

Mexican hats and riding accoutrements, and our baggage strapped on to the pack-horses — a novel sight for Americans, and we even attracted much attention from the natives. Cordova is near three thousand feet above the sea and we had to ascend eight thousand feet, and ride up and down the mountain ridges. We had hardly passed through the lanes of Cordova before we began to ascend, and the bright sunshine we had at starting was changed to lowering clouds which had suddenly blown up, and we saw the falling rain in the mountains. Into the rain we soon rode in our ascent and it continued with us during the rest of our ten-mile journey to our first night's halt, but we rather enjoyed it, as we were well protected by our rubber coverings, and were afforded peculiar views as the rain-clouds swept across the ridges and peaks. It was after dark when we reached the *puerta* [entrance] of the *hacienda* of "Monte Blanco."

The *hacendado*, Señor V., being advised by the military *comandante* at Cordova of our coming, was at the *puerta* to welcome us after our rainy ride, and he gave us a cheery reception. Our rubber coats and *charravels* were hardly off till we were served with wine, cognac, water, and cigars, and the house, all it contained and the servants, were given to us in the genuine Mexican style which you have heard. A good dinner was served us within a reasonable time after our arrival, and we were surprised to see how elegant it was, and so well served, in this solitary place high up in the mountains. An hour's talk after dinner, in which we had to make the best possible use of our Spanish, as none of the household speak a word of English; and we were shown to our rooms with comfortable beds, and we enjoyed a good night's rest. This plantation house, still in good condition, was built in 1740.

We had intended to start the next morning at daylight, as we had a long and hard journey before us; but it had rained all night, and they told us it would be very slippery

on the mountains and in the *barrancas*, and that we had better wait till after the sun was up. To the usual *desayuna* of *pan y cafe* there was added eggs and *frijoles*, in consideration of the journey before us. We had seen nothing of the *hacienda* the evening of our arrival, and our surprise and enjoyment were the greater as we looked upon the charming view in the morning, just as the sun was lighting up the mountains and valleys thick with verdure. As we departed, the genial host did not allow us to take leave, but rode with us through his *hacienda* (it is four leagues long) to the last *puerta*. He made his company both interesting and instructive, as he told us all about the method of cultivation and the products, which are coffee, sugar, tobacco, *frijoles*, and cattle.

Our road all the way to Jalapa was only a mule-path, — a way that it was impossible for a wagon of any kind to travel, — almost all the time over the mountains and down and up *barrancas*, like the one you saw at Regla, near Pachuca. This is said to be one of the most picturesque rides in all Mexico. Sometimes we were down in the *tierra caliente* [hot land] and then up in an hour or two in the *tierra templada* [temperate land], but all the time among orange, banana, or coffee groves, and most of the time in sight of the palm trees. In all this mountain region it rains a great deal more than in the tablelands of Mexico, and consequently the vegetation is much more fresh and green, and very rank. There are no bare mountains, like those on the high plains about Mexico City and all that region; but the mountains and valleys are covered with a thick growth like that you saw about Cordova.

After leaving the hospitable *hacienda* of Monte Blanco, we suddenly came upon a *pueblo*, a village of fifteen or twenty houses, "beautiful for situation," perched upon the mountain-side; but not very attractive in its buildings, which were mainly of bamboo with thatched roofs. Yet surrounded

with flowers and tropical vegetation (this is a region famous for wild orchids), the ride through its lanes was a charming experience. Outside the *pueblo* and across a plain of two miles, we came upon a *barranca*, not very deep but furnishing some beautiful prospects, with a clear stream dashing and foaming among the rocks, and not too large to ford on our horses. After climbing laboriously up its steep sides, we found another broad and fertile plain, under cultivation and full of Indians plowing with oxen.

Beyond the plain our path led again up the mountains, and there, snugly ensconced among the foothills, we entered the town of Coscomatepec, a considerable place of fifteen hundred or two thousand people. On one side of the plaza was a fine large stone church, and on another the municipal building. Most of its houses were built of stone, or *adobe* [sun-dried brick], with tiled roofs, showing those evidences of town or city comfort, as the *pueblos* are mainly constructed of bamboo with thatched roofs.

As our *arriero* had to have his pack-horses shod, in the hour of our stay we had an opportunity to examine the town. What chiefly attracted our attention was the gambling being conducted on the open street. The Mexicans are much addicted to gambling, but the old inhabitants tell me there has been a great change for the better in this respect among the people within the last generation. But we Americans cannot too severely criticise our neighbors in this matter, in view of the police reports of our cities. I recall also an experience I had on my first journey across our country to California the first year the Pacific Railroad was opened. We had to change cars at Ogden about midnight. As we alighted from the cars the night was made brilliant by a number of bonfires, and in front of each one was a gambling-table, with piles of gold double-eagles ($20 pieces), the gambling outfit, and the proprietor shouting his invitation to the game, which seemed to be well patronized.

One league beyond Coscomatepec brought us to the famous *barranca* of Jamapa, the view of which alone well repaid us for our journey. Its perpendicular descent is about one thousand feet, and its width at the top a little more than twice that distance, and it required just an hour for us to cross it. I can hardly give you an idea of its beauty and wild grandeur; the narrow mule-path along its almost precipitous sides, a road hewn out of the solid rock in the time of the old Spanish viceroys, but now much neglected and out of repair; the luxuriant vegetation hanging from the crags and rocky sides; the foaming, roaring torrent at the bottom, spanned by the substantial Spanish bridge; the grand vista of snow-capped mountain and verdant valley — an experience long to be remembered by us. It seemed as if the descent was almost perpendicular, and from the top it looked as if it would be impossible to go down on foot, to say nothing of on horseback: but we managed it in safety, although Mamma declared very often she and her horse would certainly go over the precipice to the bottom. Crossing the river on the arched stone bridge, we began the ascent, but it was slow and toilsome, and hard on our horses, along the zigzag path.

It was near noon when we reached the top, and we were glad to dismount at the Indian village on the crest of the *barranca* and enjoy with a relish the luncheon we had brought with us, supplemented by the hot *tortillas* [large thin corn-cakes], just fresh made, served to us by an Indian woman. It was three more leagues to our stopping-place for the night, over a route equally as attractive as that of the forenoon, over the ridges and through the valleys, till, climbing a mountain range about twenty-five hundred feet above the adjoining valley, suddenly the town of Huatusco burst on our view, a most romantic site, on an elevated plain, locked in as it were by the mountains, and almost hid with banana and mango groves. The only roads leading to it are mule-paths; there is not a single wagon or cart in the place, and

there probably never was one. It is one of the most beautifully situated towns or cities in the Republic, the Capital of the canton or district, with a population of seven or eight thousand people. It has an attractive plaza and quite an imposing church — the plaza is a feature of all Mexican towns of any pretensions and of the cities, and the church or the cathedral is the chief attraction; and around the plaza are situated the church, the public buildings, and stores. Besides these, Huatusco had well-paved streets and substantially built private houses.

The chief house of entertainment for travelers bore the strange sign of "Posada Jonson," or, in plain English, "Johnson Hotel." The proprietor bears this English name, but can speak nothing but Spanish. His father settled in the country more than fifty years ago and married a Mexican woman. The son was born in this place and is a Mexican citizen. As you have never been in a country hotel in this land you may be interested if I describe it.

Our whole cavalcade, in place of stopping at the front door to dismount, as at an American hotel, rode directly through its hospitably opened door into the square paved court, which is always found in large Mexican houses. This *patio*, or court, is inclosed by a building one story high, with a corridor or porch running all round the inside facing the court. Ranged in order were the rooms of the hotel, with a door and window opening on the corridor. A part of the corridor adjoining the kitchen is used as the dining-place, as in this warm climate it is pleasant to eat " in the open." On the opposite side or in a more distant part of the same building, opening likewise on the same *patio*, are the stables for the horses and other animals. In this *posada* we were well lodged for the night, with clean rooms, comfortable beds, and a fairly good table — a combination not always found in Mexican country hotels or lodging-houses. We were glad to dismount and make the most of the comforts mine host

Johnson had to offer us, as our day's journey had been a hard one. We had traversed twenty-four miles, but they were equal to double that number on a fair road.

We were fortunately housed in good season, for soon after our arrival it commenced to rain, and continued all night almost without stopping. As a consequence it left the road in a miserable condition for our next day's journey, — wet and slippery over these mountain-paths, — but fortunately it was a short one, only fifteen miles, to the celebrated *hacienda* of Mirador. You will probably remember that the Count and Countess Enzenberg often talked of making a visit to this *hacienda*. They went down to Cordova last year, intending to go over to Mirador and spend a month or two there with their countrymen, but they had such bad accounts of the road, they gave it up and returned to Mexico. So we had a curiosity to turn off from the direct road to Jalapa and go to Mirador, and thus be able on our return to report to them.

We were off early in the morning; the road out of Huatusco, after crossing a *barranca* and river, led up the steep sides of a mountain range which it was almost impossible for our horses to ascend, as the clay bed of the road, wet with the rain of the night, was so slippery they could scarcely find a footing. But once on the top, we had a grand view. The fog of the early morning rising from the damp valley was just lifted above the town, which was brightly lighted up by the rising sun; and for the first time on our journey the snow-capped volcano of Orizaba, towering majestically upwards eighteen thousand feet above the sea-level, was plainly visible. It was a magnificent panorama. The fog like a fringed curtain hung over the town and valley; and the volcano, clear white and solitary, standing high above it, was monarch of the scene.

Our route lay across a succession of ridges, a constant change of steep, slippery ascents and descents, which proved a dangerous, tiresome journey, the anxiety of a fall only

occasionally relieved by a short ride on the level crest of a ridge which gave us an opportunity to enjoy the charming scenery. But we were ready enough to pull up at Mirador and be greeted by the warm-hearted German proprietor and his family, who, advised the night before of our coming, had a good smoking-hot old-fashioned breakfast waiting for us, for which our four hours' hard ride had given us a good appetite. This *hacienda,* which is the prettiest we have yet seen in Mexico, is well named Mirador, — Prospect, or Outlook, — as the residence is situated on an oval-crested hill which overlooks the country for many miles in all directions. From the corridor on one side can be seen the volcano of Orizaba most grandly and also the Cofre de Perote, next to Orizaba the highest mountain in this region; Jalapa, the "garden city," up on the side of the *sierra;* and from another corridor can be seen sixty miles away on a clear day the shipping and lighthouse at Vera Cruz and the blue sea.

This place is just between the *tierra caliente* and the *tierra templada,* and the climate is delightful. The garden, kept under fine cultivation, was a delight to see, and in this month of January as green and fresh and blooming as in summer. This is the largest coffee *hacienda* in the Republic. They have now three hundred thousand trees growing, expect to plant this year fifty thousand more, and to have a yield from the present season of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The father of the proprietor wrote one of the best books on Mexico yet published. The family are intelligent and interesting people. Three of the daughters and a son are now in Germany at school, and in the spring the members of the family here will make a visit to Germany, leave the two girls now here and bring back the others. They are all well read in German and Spanish, and speak English fluently. They treated us so kindly and appeared so glad to have us with them (they see very few foreigners) that we concluded to

stay over another day to enjoy their society, the beautiful scenery, and the delightful climate.

We were off at daylight the morning after (the fifth day of our trip), for we had a long day's ride before us to reach the first comfortable *hacienda* on our route, a distance of sixteen leagues, or about forty-five miles. There was a large *barranca* immediately in front of Mirador, which we had to cross, and its sides were so steep we were forced to go down along it fifteen miles before we could find a crossing-place; and then it was so steep on the other side that we had to get off our horses and climb up on foot a considerable part of the way. But we enjoyed it, as the scenery was very grand. This day the sun was very hot, as about noon we crossed a valley in the *tierra caliente*, and for two hours we suffered a good deal with the heat. We also had to cross a wide river on a *balsa*, a kind of rude raft or ferry-float made of poles tied together with withes or vines. Mamma insisted we should certainly drown, and held on to me tight with both hands till we reached the other shore. After climbing a high mountain, just at dark we reached the *hacienda* where we were to spend the night. It was the longest ride we had made, but had it not been for the hot sun we would have got along very well. My army campaigning was of value to me, as I stood the ride better than I had feared, as we all did; but Mamma and Mr. Gibbon were so tired they could hardly wait for their suppers before they fell asleep.

The next morning we were again in our saddles about daylight, and had another grand view of the sunrise in the mountains. After a three hours' ride we reached the beautiful city of Jalapa, the end of our horseback journey, having traveled in all about one hundred and twenty miles since we left Cordova. We found the Governor of the State of Vera Cruz, whose residence is here, had engaged rooms for us at the hotel, and we were soon rested from the fatigues of the trip, which proved the most enjoyable one we have yet made in

Mexico. We spent two days very pleasantly in Jalapa, of which I have not time to write you in detail. This is considered the most beautifully situated city in all the Republic.

Day before yesterday we came down to this place, riding half the way in a stage-coach, and half on a mule railroad they are building to Jalapa. The stage-ride was the roughest we have yet taken in Mexico, and Mamma said she would much rather have gone on horseback. We are quite enjoying our stay here at the oceanside. It is good to get a sniff of the fresh sea breeze. But I must close, as the gentleman who is to take this letter says the steamer sails within an hour. . . .

Cordova, the city from which we started on the excursion just narrated, we found a very attractive place for short visits, as it is situated in a most picturesque region, just midway between the hot climate of the coast and the more vigorous climate of the tableland, and readily accessible by the railroad from the Capital.

Notwithstanding its many attractions Cordova has for me sad memories. Before I entered the diplomatic service I had made the acquaintance of Fernando C. Willett, a young man who had come out to Indiana, having just graduated from a college in his native State of Vermont. He was younger than I, but his charming personality, his lovable nature, and his promising talents had greatly attached me to him. After I had been in Mexico two years a vacancy occurred in the secretaryship of the Legation. I had heard that owing to a pulmonary attack Willett had been compelled to give up the study of his chosen profession and gone to Colorado in search of health. At my request the President appointed him to the vacant place as Secretary of Legation, and upon the advice of his physician he accepted and came to the Capital of Mexico, all of us hoping and believing that its high and dry climate would agree with him, as it had with many others suffering from his malady.

For several months he was in apparent good health and the best of spirits, and made friends of all with whom he came in contact. But the insidious disease was still doing its work, and he was suddenly attacked with hemorrhages. The physician ordered him to the lower and milder climate of Cordova, where he came under the care and companionship of Dr. Russell, an American physician residing there. But in a little while Doctor Russell wrote me that poor Willett was gradually sinking and that some one should come to care for him. In those days there were no professional nurses in Mexico, and there was no one in the country upon whom he had a stronger claim than myself. For four weeks I was almost continuously at his bedside alone in a dismal *posada*, or hotel. It was a sad experience to see the life gradually fading out of that young manhood. Realizing the danger, he fought strenuously against death; he was so anxious to live; he told me why, and talked of his great projects in life. The end came about midnight, in a bare and comfortless room, with me alone to close his eyes. His body was taken to the City of Mexico and buried in the American military cemetery in the presence of a large concourse of friends. The American colony erected a becoming monument over the grave. Poor Willett's life did not end in that grave. Besides his firm faith in a blessed immortality, even in this world his sweet characteristics and high ambitions were imparted to a host of friends in whose lives his own was perpetuated.

In addition to its charming features of vegetation, scenery, and climate, Cordova has long been noted in Mexican political history. Early in the seventeenth century it was the winter resort of the Spanish viceroys, proving equally desirable as a refuge from the fever-stricken regions of the coast and the rarefied air of the Capital. Here Iturbide made the treaty or agreement with the Viceroy O'Donohu, in 1821, which led to Mexican independence and the Republic. Here

the French, English, and Spaniards halted in their tripartite expedition in 1861.

It was here that an ex-Confederate colony was located at the close of our Civil War. Quite a large number of the soldiers of "the Lost Cause," among them Generals Price, Magruder, Reynolds, Shelby, and Governor Isham G. Harris (afterwards a member of the United States Senate), took refuge in Mexico, feeling they could not endure the Government of "the Stars and Stripes." Maximilian in 1865, then at the height of his power, caused to be set off and surveyed for these refugees some estates in the valley of Cordova to constitute an American colony. These estates had been confiscated by the Juarez Government as property mortgaged to the clergy. Each head of a family was assigned by Maximilian one hundred and sixty acres of land, and each single man eighty acres, on certain conditions as to settlement thereon, improvements, cultivation, etc. A considerable colony was at once established, Governor Harris was made *alcalde*, and active preparations for improvements and planting of crops commenced.

Before they had been on the ground long enough to gather the first crop, a raid was made on the colony by a band of Liberals, regarding them as Imperialists, and a large amount of stock and other property was seized and many colonists carried off as prisoners. They were finally released on condition of leaving the country, and were sent to the United States from Alvarado, or other Gulf ports. This raid so alarmed the remaining colonists that many of them abandoned their lands; and, on the fall of Maximilian, nearly all of them returned to the United States, and the colony proved a failure.

Notwithstanding the fact that the ex-Confederates who had come to Mexico were considered as hostile to the Liberal Government, there is good reason to believe that President Juarez would have recognized the act of Maximilian in es-

tablishing the colony, would have protected the colonists in their titles, and encouraged the existence and growth of the enterprise, if any considerable number had remained, as it was so manifestly for the interest of the country. But as only two or three were left on their lands, it was useless to continue the effort on the part of the Government. Had the settlers been a little more persistent, there might to-day be a large and flourishing American colony in this rich and beautiful valley, engaged in the cultivation and exportation of this profitable crop. But I opine that when the keen edge of their disappointment over "the Lost Cause" was worn away by time, these true-hearted Americans began to long for their old homes and were quite willing to come under the old flag again.

In my day there was only one of the old ex-Confederate colonists left, Dr. Russell of Alabama (whom I have already mentioned), who had served under General John T. Morgan, for so many years afterwards the distinguished Senator from Alabama, than whom no more ardent American could be found in the United States Senate. The Doctor was pretty thoroughly "reconstructed," and he and I became intimate friends. He was largely engaged in coffee cultivation, and it was his ambition not to return to his native land till he could go back in a ship loaded with the product of his own lands. That day never came. He accepted the *dolce far niente* of that charming climate and scenery, lived a plain life, enlarged his coffee holdings from year to year, ministered gratuitously of his professional skill to the ills of the simple natives of his *haciendas*, and twenty-five years after I left the country he died in a ripe old age in his home in Cordova, highly esteemed and mourned by his neighbors and dependants.

FAIRFIELD UNIVERSITY
FAIRFIELD, CONN.
007365

CHAPTER V

MEXICO UNDER LERDO

At the time when I began my residence in Mexico, the country was still suffering from the long struggle of the Liberal party against the Clericals, in the War of the Reform, which began in 1857 and ended with the downfall and execution of Maximilian in 1867. The days of the pseudo-empire and the tragic death of the Emperor were fresh in the public mind, and I was often entertained by the participants with the narration of incidents of those stirring times.

The President of the Republic to whom I handed my credentials, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, had been one of the active leaders of the Reform or Liberal movement, and was generally credited with deciding the fate of Maximilian. Although Juarez, the head of the Liberal party and then the President, was a man of great sternness of character, he was much moved by the interposition of the Government of the United States in its effort to secure the peaceful departure of Maximilian from the country. Juarez highly appreciated the services which the United States had rendered the Liberal cause during the war, and was inclined to mercy; but Señor Lerdo felt that the Republic had suffered so much at the hands of the Monarchists, that such a punishment should be visited upon the leaders of the movement as would be an effectual warning against all future attempts to overthrow the democratic institutions of the country; and it was his firm attitude that brought about the execution of the chief of the short-lived empire.

Lerdo had succeeded to the presidency on the sudden death of Juarez in 1872; and just before my arrival he had

been elected by an almost unanimous vote for another constitutional term of four years. One of the early acts of his second term was the promulgation, as a part of the Federal Constitution, of what are known as the Laws of Reform. These laws had constituted the battle-cry of the Liberal party when it began anew its contest against the Clericals in 1858, they had been adopted into law in 1859, and after the overthrow of Maximilian they had been approved by the States as a constitutional amendment. In 1873 they were proclaimed with much ceremony as a part of the organic law.

This act of proclamation was the final consummation of the great struggle of the Liberal party. The amendment declares the independence of each other of the State and Church, and forbids the passage of laws establishing or prohibiting any religion; declares marriage a civil contract, and gives exclusive jurisdiction to the civil authority to celebrate this and all other civil personal acts; prohibits the acquisition by religious institutions of real estate or of capital secured by mortgages, except for specific church uses; abolishes all religious oaths; and makes unlawful the existence of monastic orders. These provisions are also supplemented by laws which prohibit all religious processions or wearing of a monastic garb in public.

I transmitted to Washington a copy of the President's proclamation embodying the Laws of Reform, which I characterized as the crowning act of triumph of the Liberal Government in its long contest with the Conservative party. In response, I was instructed by Secretary Fish to communicate to the Mexican Government the congratulations of that of the United States on the adoption of the amendments, as a great step in advance, especially for a republic, and that in the experience of our country these measures had not tended to weaken the just interests of religion.

The Government of Mexico was greatly gratified at this act of Secretary Fish; the correspondence was by order of

President Lerdo read by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the National Congress; the President of Congress, in the name of that body, expressed the gratification with which the assembly had received the congratulation, and by vote of Congress the correspondence was entered upon its journal; and the act commanded general attention and comment throughout the country. This action of our Government was the more gratifying to the Liberal party of Mexico, as the Pope of Rome had denounced the Laws of Reform as an impious attack upon the Church, and the proclamation had stirred up anew the old religious fanaticism of the country and its hatred of the Government.

All the monastic orders and religious communities had some time before been broken up and their members forced to leave the country or go into other occupations, with the exception of the Sisters of Charity, who had been tolerated because of their humane work in the hospitals and other charities. But now that the Laws of Reform had with so much pomp been incorporated in the Constitution, the Government felt that consistency required that its provisions should be impartially enforced, and orders were issued that the Sisters of Charity should cease their vocation or leave the country. I was instructed by the Secretary of State, at the request of the French Government (there being no French Minister in Mexico), to intervene in behalf of the French members of the order, who constituted the majority, to secure a postponement of their departure. This I readily accomplished, as the Government granted them whatever reasonable time they desired. But the orders of the Government caused the adherents of the Church to break forth into new demonstrations of indignation. The opposition manifested itself most prominently in what were termed the "protests of the ladies," documents which were drawn up with the ostensible object of expressing sorrow for the departure of the Sisters of Charity, but whose real purpose and

effect were to attack and denounce the existing Government and weaken its influence with the people. These "protests" were largely signed and promulgated throughout the country, and embraced the names of the wives and daughters of many of the members of Congress and Federal officials, as well as leading citizens of influence and wealth. The subject was discussed with great acrimony by the Conservative or Catholic press on the one side and the Liberal press on the other. The discussion had the effect of uniting the supporters of the Government in defense of the laws, which were regarded as the natural sequence of the great struggle through which the country had passed successfully.

This manifestation was the last concerted effort of the Clerical party publicly to resist the enforcement of these important laws. While the great mass of the people remain faithful to the Catholic Church, they have accepted the result as an accomplished and permanent fact, and prelates and people have accommodated themselves to the changed conditions. Nor has the Church itself materially suffered by the change. A generation has passed since the proclamation of the Laws of Reform as a part of the Constitution, and the Catholic faith seems as strongly intrenched in the country as ever. The notable difference from the past is that the clergy have ceased to participate in or seek to control the political affairs of the nation.

The long struggle for the separation of the Church from the State which resulted in the triumph of liberal principles was of great importance in promoting the peace and prosperity of the country, but the struggle was not confined to Mexico in its salutary influence. It was felt throughout all Latin America. When Juarez and his band of reformers first proclaimed the principle of "a free Church in a free State," in all of the Governments south of the United States on the Western Hemisphere the Catholic was the State religion, and none others were tolerated. The Liberal party in Mexico was

fighting the battle of a "free State" for all of them, and to-day with few exceptions these Governments are entirely separated from the Church, and religious toleration prevails.

In studying the institutions and customs of Mexico, my attention was given early to the political parties and the elections. Having taken some part in politics at home and having had charge recently of an electoral campaign, I was naturally interested in examining these institutions in our neighboring sister Republic, where by the Constitution the suffrage was made free and universal. I found that in the past twenty years the country had been divided into two parties, contending for great principles of government, vital to the peace and prosperity of the nation; but that those contests had been concluded, not by a resort to electoral campaigns and the ballot-box, but by an appeal to arms, and that the result was determined on the battlefield.

When by the arbitrament of war the Liberals triumphed, the Conservatives not only laid down their arms, but they withdrew from all participation in politics and the exercise of the electoral franchise. Thenceforward the political campaigns became contests of persons, not principles, as the Liberal party alone participated in them. Worse than this, it seemed that there was a conviction among the electors that the party in power would control the result of the election in favor of its candidate, without regard to the ballots cast. So it was that on the fall of Maximilian, when Juarez became a candidate for reëlection, the friends of General Diaz, who were very numerous throughout the Republic, rallied to the support of Diaz; but before the campaign closed they alleged that they would be coerced by the Administration at the polls or defrauded in their ballots, and on that ground they declined to take part in the election, but in many sections of the country sought to organize an armed revolution. Just before I reached Mexico, Lerdo

BENITO JUAREZ

Indian President of Mexico, 1858–1872

had been declared elected with substantial unanimity, Diaz receiving only one vote in the Capital and a few dozen in the entire Republic, although it was known he had a large following throughout the country.

During my seven years' residence in Mexico, I often visited the polling-places on election days, but I never saw a citizen deposit a ballot, and rarely did I find any persons at the polls besides the election officers. An American merchant, who had resided many years in the city of Oaxaca and possessed the esteem of the people, in answer to my inquiry about the elections, said that one of the polling-places was always held near his store, and that he generally passed most of the election day chatting in company with the officers of the "*mesa*" (election board). He stated that it was a very rare occurrence that any citizen came to the polls to vote, the only persons doing so usually being the officers of the election board, who went through the act with the most ceremonious gravity imaginable. Everybody understood that the elections were a farce, the officers "to be elected" were fixed upon by the Governor and a special circle, and the list was generally known before the election was held. In answer to a question, he said that an Indian (the large majority of the population being of that race) could not be induced to go to the polls, unless a rope was fastened around his neck with sufficient mule-power attached to overcome his muscular resistance.

On my return to Mexico a few years ago, after a twenty years' absence, I met a citizen who had been a boy acquaintance of mine during my residence as Minister. I asked him about his present occupation or profession. He told me the business in which he was engaged, but he added, "I am also a *diputado*" [member of Congress]. I extended my congratulations. "Yes," he said, "I did not care much about it, but Don Porfirio [the title by which friends refer to the President] said he would like to see me in Congress." He was chosen

from a State which he had never visited and from a district of which he had never heard.

My German colleague, a very thoughtful observer, discussing this subject with me, said: "There is no popular suffrage in this country and there cannot be in this generation, for two reasons: First, the want of intelligence on the part of the masses; second, the general conviction that the votes cast are so manipulated by the authorities that there is no assurance that the result will be according to the wishes of the voters. The masses [the Indians] do not vote because of indifference and ignorance. If they did, it would be as the priests indicate, because they have the greatest influence over them. The priests do not exert their influence, partly because of their retirement from politics and partly because of their conviction that it would be of no avail against the ruling politicians. The intelligent people as a rule do not vote, for the same reason — the want of confidence in the ballot being properly returned."

In my day this abstention from the polls was generally recognized by the press. By the independent press it was deplored; by the opposition the responsibility for it was charged to what were termed the illegal acts and arbitrary practices of the Administration. From an independent journal of good standing I cut out during my residence this item: "Yesterday afternoon at one o'clock, Mr. A. M., a congressman, was found at the electoral voting-place, which it was his duty to open, when a friend arrived and asked him how the election was going there. The reply was that no one had come to vote, so that he had not been able to organize an election board. 'Then, you will close the poll and report the fact.' 'By no means,' replied Mr. M.; 'I have here the list of persons who ought to vote and from it I will make up my poll-list, and report the result. This I am ordered to do, and I cannot fail to do it.' We guarantee the exact truth of this anecdote."

These comments as to the electoral franchise in Mexico do not apply to all elections; often in local and municipal contests there is an animated campaign and a free exercise of the ballot. Further reference to this subject will be made when I come to review the Administration of President Diaz. I may remark, moreover, that this defect in the exercise of the franchise is not singular to Mexico, but is common to the Latin-American countries, with few exceptions. The want of education of the masses makes them indifferent to or incapable of an intelligent use of suffrage; and the long revolutionary struggles which preceded their independence accustomed the people to the settlement of political questions by a resort to arms. Besides, in their colonial state they had not enjoyed in any degree the local self-government of the British-American colonies. Not until education is more generally diffused among the masses may we reasonably expect those countries to be ruled through the exercise of the electoral franchise.

The long struggle which attended the separation of the Government from the Roman Catholic Church, to which I have referred, naturally led to some manifestations of religious revolt among the people, tending to the establishment of Protestant congregations, but no prominent or influential native appeared to lead the movement. Its direction, as a consequence, was taken up by foreign missionaries from the United States. The first to enter the field was the Protestant Episcopal Church, but it was soon followed by the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Quaker, and other denominations. These movements naturally stirred up opposition on the part of the adherents of the Catholic Church. Early in President Lerdo's term a delegation of American missionaries called upon him to pay their respects, and presented an address asking for an assurance of his disposition to protect Protestants in the exercise of their religion. The President received them cordially, and made an earnest reply,

entirely satisfactory to them, the substance of which was reported, as follows: —

"That the Constitution of Mexico guarantees in the most absolute and unreserved manner the toleration and protection of all religious opinions. That although the fanaticism of other forms of religion might sometimes excite popular disturbances against Protestants, he was sure that the opinion of all the enlightened classes of society is ardently in favor of complete toleration, and that he will answer for the conduct of all the authorities depending directly upon the Federal Government. That in addition to the constitutional obligation to protect religious liberty, the Government takes pleasure in stating that the teachers of the Protestant doctrine in Mexico have distinguished themselves by their deportment as law-abiding citizens, without a single instance of the contrary having come to his knowledge; that their labors have uniformly tended to the enlightenment of the public, discarding sectarian disputes, and limiting themselves to the propagation of doctrines of sound morality and practical religion; that the Government will not only use its utmost diligence to punish all infractions of religious liberty, but is earnestly desirous that the Protestant teachers should enable it to take efficient measures for the prevention of such abuses whenever there may be ground to apprehend their occurrence; that he is pleased to make the acquaintance of the gentlemen who have conscientiously and laboriously devoted themselves to an object of great public utility."

Notwithstanding these official assurances, the Protestants were molested and persecuted in various ways. Wherever a new field was entered upon, it awakened opposition and called for the interposition of the authorities, which was usually cheerfully rendered, but after a time the open hostility ceased. During my residence a few cases of religious riots resulted in the loss of life. In one instance an American missionary was murdered. The authorities acted vigorously

in the arrest of the leaders of the mob, but the usual delays occurred in the courts. Finally, eighteen months after the murder, five persons were found guilty and executed.

These mission enterprises led to the visit to the Capital of various prominent American churchmen, among the most distinguished of whom was Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Church. Few men in the American churches had a more useful career or were possessed of more eminent talents. He was received by President Lerdo, and in the course of the interview the latter repeated substantially the statements, just quoted, which he made to the delegation the year before. The Bishop sought to impress on the President the great political interest the Government had in the division of the population into different religious denominations, in which Señor Lerdo heartily concurred. He was a welcome guest at one of the public banquets given during his stay by the American colony at which the Diplomatic Corps and Mexican officials were present. An extract from his address on the occasion will indicate something of his oratorical grace.

He said: "I have sometimes thought that our national standards represent the present condition of the two nations. The Mexican eagle is perched upon the cactus, and holds the serpent in its beak: ours is soaring amidst the stars. With us, the conflict is over — victory has been won — and in proud triumph, yet bearing the symbol of peace, the eagle, untrammeled and unrestrained, seeks the high heavens. Mexico, as a republic, is younger, her half-century has scarcely ended. She is yet in the conflict. Her eagle has seized the serpent of ignorance, of superstition, and of disorder, and is breaking its power. It is already writhing in agony and will soon be dashed lifeless on the ground. Then, too, will the victorious Mexican eagle soar aloft — for it has a right to fly as high as ours. Her skies are more clear and her mountains taller than our own; Popocatepetl wears a higher crown than Mt.

Hood, and Pike's Peak bows gracefully to the Woman in White."

The Protestant missions and congregations are now scattered pretty well over the Republic. They have been active in organizing primary and higher grades of schools. They publish a number of religious journals and use the printing-press freely. Their colporteurs carry the Bible into almost every community. Preaching, however, is their chief reliance for propagating their cause, and to this end they have established training-schools for educating a native ministry. But, notwithstanding their activity, they have not made great inroads among the Catholic adherents or seriously disaffected the mass of the population from the old faith. Their success, however, has been commensurate with that of Protestant effort in other Catholic countries. It is not easy to shake the foundations of the Church of Rome. Its organization, discipline, and devotion are unsurpassed.

While the Protestant movement cannot claim success in the multitudes of adherents, in other respects it has had a marked influence on the Catholic Church in Mexico. The latter has been stirred up by the rivalry to greater attention to its parochial schools and the character of the instruction has been modernized. The Bible is no longer a closed book for Catholics. In the old days, before the advent of Protestantism, little preaching was heard in the great cathedrals and parish churches. Now a sermon is given in most of them on Sunday and even "missions," or what are commonly called revival services, are frequently held. The churches, great and small, have as a result undergone a transformation, by the introduction of pews or seats, before almost unknown, so that the worshipers may listen to the preaching with profit; and in other ways they have been "swept and garnished." Greater attention is given to the education and training for the priesthood, and the morals of the lower clergy are more closely scrutinized by the bishops. In those re-

spects Protestantism has stirred up a spirit of rivalry in the old religion and awakened its energies into new life and activity.

I had the good fortune during my mission in Mexico to meet the man who in some respects may be regarded as the most noted personage in the history of the Republic — Santa Anna. He began his public career with the independence, and was an active participant in almost every movement which disturbed the afflicted country up to his death in 1876, being repeatedly president or dictator with absolute rule, and in turn an exile and powerless. He is best known to the people of the United States for his prominent part in the struggle for Texan independence and during the Mexican War of 1846–8. His affiliations were generally with the Conservative party, but, not being much troubled with scruples, he readily vacillated from one side to the other.

Owing to his machinations against the Juarez Government a sentence of banishment for eight years was issued against him in 1867, but a general act of amnesty for political offenses was promulgated in 1870, and he returned to the country in 1874, and quietly took up his residence in the village of Guadalupe, in the suburbs of the Capital. His return attracted no attention beyond a brief newspaper notice. I called upon him in his modest quarters, and was very cordially received by him. I found him much broken with age, but he still preserved his military bearing and conversed with great freedom. His topics were mainly of the past, referring with special interest to his visit to the United States after his capture in 1836 by the Texans, and the kind reception he received. A few months after my visit his death was announced, and he was quietly buried as a private citizen, his remains being followed to the cemetery by a few relatives only. Recalling the great power he had exercised at the head of the Government, we are reminded of the fate of another greater warrior: —

"But yesterday the word of Cæsar might
Have stood against the world: now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence."

The year of Santa Anna's death Don Carlos de Bourbon, the pretender to the Spanish throne, made a visit of a few weeks to the Capital. He was courteously received except in official circles, and with special attention by certain persons and families of Spanish origin, adherents of the old Conservative Church party. The object of his visit seemed to be one purely of recreation.

In 1875, in connection with a tour of the United States, the Marchioness Adelaide Ristori made a visit to Mexico, and I saw much of her socially during her stay in the Capital. She was the guest of my intimate colleague, the Italian Minister, was several times a visitor at my residence, and she and Mrs. Foster established a warm friendship. I regard her as one of the most remarkable women I have ever met, both intellectually and socially. At that time she had reached the height of her fame, standing in the front rank of the world's *tragédiennes*, having been showered with presents by all the great monarchs of Europe and with the plaudits of the artistic and refined people of both hemispheres. After a long career upon the stage, she retired to Rome with an ample fortune, devoting her time to charities and to her multitude of friends and admirers. Her eightieth birthday was celebrated in 1902 with unusual brilliancy, and she lived to the age of eighty-five.

CHAPTER VI

A TRIP TO OAXACA

We so greatly enjoyed our excursion from Cordova to Jalapa that the succeeding summer we made another to the then more inaccessible and more famous State of Oaxaca. Our party consisted of the Italian Minister, the Chevalier Biagi, Dr. and Mrs. Richardson of New Orleans, and Mrs. Foster and myself. We came from the capital by the railroad to Boca del Monte; thence the second day fourteen leagues by stage to Tehuacan, where we found a comfortable hotel; and the third day by stage, a distance of twenty leagues, to Tecomavaca, with poor accommodations for the night. The remainder of the journey, about one hundred miles through the heart of the Sierra Madre range to the city of Oaxaca, was made on horseback and required three days. The experiences and scenes were much the same as those had in the trip from Cordova to Jalapa, with two exceptions, one agreeable and the other the reverse. We experienced less rain, and the paths, although rugged, were not so difficult. On the other hand we had no such comfortable entertainment at night, the country being more wild and unsettled. One night we had to resort to a hut used by the *arrieros* with their pack-trains, and made our beds from the cornstalks cut from an adjoining field.

There is no State of the Republic which has more objects and associations of interest or natural attractions for the visitor than Oaxaca. It was the seat of the Zapotecan race, one of the most warlike, intelligent, and civilized of all those existing at the time of the Spanish conquest. The valley of Oaxaca was selected by Cortez as a part of his estates granted

by the King of Spain as a reward for his grand conquest, and he and his descendants bore the title of "Marquis of the Valley" (of Oaxaca). The city was founded by an edict of the Emperor Charles V, in 1532. From the beginning of the war of independence it has had a warlike experience: taken by assault from the Spaniards by the heroic Morelos in 1812; Santa Anna besieged and captured it in 1828; another siege in 1833; the celebrated siege of the French in 1865; and its recapture by Diaz in 1866.

The State has been noted for the independent spirit and warlike character of its people. It gave birth to Juarez, and the Reform movement had its promulgation and chief support here. It was also the birthplace of Diaz. His first revolutionary "plan" or platform of 1871, "La Noria," and that of 1876, "Tuxtepec," were issued here; and from this State he organized with the *serranos* (mountaineers) the army which overthrew Lerdo and placed himself in power.

From the city of Oaxaca our party made several short excursions occupying three days, to some of the wonders of the region, one of those being to Tule to see the gigantic and marvelous cypress tree, and to Mitla to examine the celebrated architectural ruins at that place. We were accompanied by the Governor of the State, made his guests, and received in all the towns and villages with music, fireworks, and floral arches. These places are so well known to the public through books of travel and archæological writings, that I need not dilate upon them.

But another place which we visited — Cuilapam — is so little known and so full of interest that it calls for some further notice. This village lies three leagues southwest of the city of Oaxaca on the confines of the luxuriant valley of Zimatlan. In the ages preceding the Spanish Conquest and before this region was subdued by the Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico, this village was on the boundary between the rival kingdoms of the Mistecos and the Zapotecos. On the

rising ground to the west of the village stood a watch-tower of the Mistecos, whence they observed the movements of the enemy. Among the Indians there are yet treasured many traditions of bloody deeds and stirring events which took place ages ago among a people, the vestiges of whose civilization and prowess still remain in these valleys, objects of our wonder and admiration.

On the site of the ancient Indian watch-tower the Dominican monks built an immense church and convent in the early days of the viceregal government of Mexico, which, with their towers and massive walls, have the appearance of an old feudal fortress. The convent has been long abandoned by the friars, and is now a vast desolation of halls, corridors, chapels, and monks' cells, similar to the ruins which are scattered over the Republic, the evidences of the departed grandeur and wealth of the Church. We spent some hours with much interest in wandering through these dilapidated buildings deserted by all but the bats, which have found there a quiet home; in reading the faded Latin inscriptions upon the stuccoed walls; in seeking to trace on the tombstones in the graveyard the history of the old monks; and in clambering up on to the dome of the church and viewing the grand panorama of the valley beneath us and the mountains around and below us.

A part of the immense church, in a very ragged condition, was still used by the villagers, and the *padre* occupied a few of the lower rooms. Under his guidance we were led into one of the courts, where we were shown a tomb lying level with the ground, upon which were engraved some huge illegible letters, which bore the evident marks of age. This tomb the villagers regard with the greatest reverence, for here they say was buried Doña Marina, or Malinche, the famous interpreter of Cortez, the companion of the Spaniards in all the campaigns of the Conquest, a most important instrument of their triumph, and one of the noted women of the world.

Hers was a strange life, as a Mexican writer has said, rather a chapter of a novel than a sober page of history. The beginning and the end of her life are lost. It is only that middle portion, coupled with the exploits of the great Spanish captain, which is certainly known. Little mention is made of her after her marriage. Neither Bernal Diaz, the contemporaneous historian, nor Prescott has more than a passing reference to her after-life. Her birth and her death are shrouded in mystery and uncertain tradition. Whether or not this ancient tomb is her grave, this crumbling ruin is a fit resting-place for her who witnessed the overthrow of her race — this spot which marks their contending struggles and where the conquerors sought to build an enduring monument of their faith, which, too, in its turn, has gone to decay.

There was one remaining historic spot which we had not yet seen, so we asked the *padre* where was the monument that marked the death of General and President Guerrero. He pointed out to us a field of growing wheat at the rear of the convent; he evidently did not care to accompany us. It marks an event which constitutes one of the darkest pages of all Mexican history. General Guerrero was one of the most valiant leaders of Mexican independence, and in 1828 came to the presidency, as most Mexicans have, through a bloody struggle following a contested election. He had been fully installed and recognized, but Bustamente, the Vice-President, raised the standard of revolt. He was supported by many of the most prominent of the old leaders of the independence, and what arms were likely to fail in accomplishing, treachery and money achieved. Guerrero was entrapped into accepting an invitation to a dinner on board a foreign vessel, commanded by a Genoese, in the harbor of Acapulco; and while the dinner was in progress the vessel set sail, put to sea, and anchored in a port on the coast of Oaxaca in the hands of his opponents. For this base act the Genoese is said to have received $70,000. His captors

went through the mock forms of a court-martial in this convent, condemned him to death, and on this spot he was shot on the 14th of February, 1831. The murderers then, with impious rejoicing, returned to the church and sang a *Te Deum* over the death of this brave soldier and patriot, who had merited the honor and gratitude of his countrymen.

The city of Oaxaca not only bears the scars of war, but shows in almost every quarter the marks of earthquakes, this State having suffered more from them than any other. The tradition of many frightful visitations of this "chief of terrors" to the people, occurring centuries ago, are kept fresh in the memories of the natives. They have had also recent occasion to remember their terrible manifestations. One of the most noted of these took place only three years before our visit. Nine times during the day was the phenomenon repeated, and so powerfully and so alarmingly that the houses were abandoned and the inhabitants fled to the plazas or open squares, and even to the open fields outside the city. Many lives were lost, and we saw the effects in destroyed houses and the gaping walls of massive edifices. A few months later in the same year the people were suddenly awakened at 4 o'clock in the morning by a terrific shock which seemed to crack the very globe itself, followed immediately by an oscillating movement of some seconds, and finally by a violent trembling motion. Many are the injuries which these earthquakes always cause when they combine the double movement of oscillation and trepidation.

One of the noticeable facts about earthquakes is that they are a danger to which the inhabitants never become accustomed or indifferent. However often repeated, they seem to inspire an increasing and greater fear which is indescribable, and which seems to pervade the brute with even greater force than man. To feel the very earth, which is our symbol of solidity and firmness in all things terrestrial, tremble and apparently give way beneath one's feet, inspires such an

emotion as none can conceive but those who have felt a genuine tropical earthquake. The old foreign resident of Mexico tells the newcomer that he will not know the country till he has experienced an earthquake and passed through a revolution. We were visited during our residence with several shocks, but fortunately none of them attended with disastrous consequences. Once while dining in the Legation with a party of friends, among them George W. Carleton, the New York publisher, in the midst of the dinner there came a sudden and violent shock, which instantly brought all of us to our feet. It was a simple shock only, and we soon recovered our equanimity, resumed our seats, and the dinner went on. Mr. Carleton, who was quite an artist, made an amusing pen-and-ink sketch of the scene. As I am not able to reproduce this picture, I quote a word-sketch written by a traveler in Oaxaca describing his experience while on a visit to Mitla, as follows: —

"We were sitting one day at the table, when of a sudden somebody — shook the table; no! — the walls shook, also the ceiling; the mighty beams supporting it groaned and twisted about, as if their vitals were under the influence of colic. The company stared at one another; but scarcely a face looked funny enough to warrant the impeachment of any one having played a trick upon the diners. Another heave, and everything movable, and what we might have thought before immovable, swayed about, a cracking, a rattling, and a subterranean growl upset the equilibrium of everything, and, above all, that of the bipeds, or most of them at least, for away they rushed, pell-mell, into the courtyard, leaving the poor pudding standing smoking in the middle of the table. A few old stagers remained, fascinated apparently by the attraction of the smoking good cheer, and shamming as much cheer of their own as they could conscientiously make pretense to. This encouraged some of us to attempt also keeping up appearances, and so,

with a sort of seasick feeling, and more sickly smiles, we revenged ourselves on the pudding, by dissecting and emboweling it, though choking with our mouths full.

"We had just recovered ourselves sufficiently to swallow like Christians, the fugitives were returning, and reassuming their greedy looks in regard to pudding and dessert, when another unmitigated subterranean kick stopped every morsel in our throats. This was no laughing matter; we all felt exceedingly sick; we could not keep our positions on the chairs, but had to hold on to walls, doors, and window-frames that had as much need of support as we had. . . . We had to evacuate; we sallied into the street and there we were soon imbued with the terrible seriousness of an earthquake. From all the houses the inhabitants had come forth to the most spacious places where two streets crossed, or to the plazas or open squares. They were on their knees, pale and despairing, praying earnestly, some loud, some low, and here and there a heart-rending yell of 'misericordia, domine!' would be echoed by a hundred faltering tongues."

Our visit to Oaxaca terminated with a large banquet in our honor given by the Governor in the Government Hall. The local press referred to it with much satisfaction, and with details of the floral decorations, the display of flags of "all nations friendly to Mexico," the music, etc. As on all such occasions there were various toasts and speeches. That of the Governor, which is a fair specimen of Mexican after-dinner oratory, was as follows: —

To-day we register in our annals an act hitherto unknown; the representatives of two powerful, friendly nations come among us to visit the cradle of the Zapotecos, which is also the country of the immortal Juarez. If history is not a vain echo lost in the lapse of time, we should take from it a good lesson for the future. The illustrious travelers who now listen to me advise the aristocracy to forego its privileges

which have no reason to exist, to teach the classes still marked with the seal of former servitude, that they could only raise themselves from the dust and put on the august crown of their right proclaiming liberty and equality, and give the people to understand that not because it has been oppressed will it be an oppressor; that not because it has been tyrannized over can it tyrannize in its turn.

We will take to ourselves these doctrines and measure their importance.

These travelers call us brothers, and pour out to us consolation and hope; they bring a desire for better and more prosperous times for Oaxaca; they teach us to make property prolific with our work; they enlighten us with their counsel, and engrave upon our minds the ideas that are to make our future happy.

We bless, gentlemen, the inscrutable decree of Providence that has brought among us the enlightened representatives of two powerful nations, and upon offering them our hospitality, we strew their path with flowers, and in the light of vivid and imperishable joy, we will drink to the health and the glory of the two wise Ministers who are to-day our worthy guests.

In my reply to the Governor, after expressing our high appreciation of the honor and attentions we had received, I said: —

I am gratified to have this appropriate opportunity to offer a sentiment to the memory of the distinguished statesman, who has rendered such important service to his native State of Oaxaca, to his country, and to republican institutions throughout the world. . . . The past has furnished few more illustrious examples of steadiness of purpose, devotion to principle, or unwavering faith in the cause of liberty and human progress through years of darkness, disaster,

and adversity than that of Don Benito Juarez. He was a worthy compeer of the political giants of our generation who struggled successfully for national unity and the consolidation of their respective principles of government — of our own immortal Lincoln, of Count Cavour of Italy, and of Prince Bismarck of Germany; and I doubt not that history will record his name in enduring letters on the scroll of fame, along with the great American apostles of freedom, Hidalgo, Bolivar, and Washington.

It is to present my offering of devotion and admiration I have crossed the mountains and come into this beautiful valley — to this city, the scene of his youth and early manhood. I close with the toast: *To the memory of Juarez and to the prosperity of his native State of Oaxaca.*

Our visit to Oaxaca was in all respects satisfactory and enjoyable. We were received by the official and social circles with every civility and attention. Our presence among them was recognized as a special mark of consideration for their city and State, and it proved as agreeable to us as to them. The American Consul, in writing me after our departure of the pleasant impression made by our visit, concluded as follows: "Every event that takes place here this year will bear date, *el año de la visita del Ministro de los Estados Unidos.*"

The Mexican people are exceedingly patriotic and celebrate their national days with much enthusiasm. The two events to which they annually give special importance are the promulgation of the independence by Hidalgo on September 15, and the defeat of the French in their attack upon Puebla on May 5. They also commemorated the battles in the Valley of Mexico which resulted in the capture of the city by General Scott, the President and his Cabinet often participating in the exercises. It seems a little odd to Americans that those defeats which brought such overwhelming disaster to the

nation should continue to be celebrated with so much patriotic fervor. The Mexicans, however, look upon them somewhat in the light with which the Greeks regarded Thermopylæ, as exhibitions of heroic devotion and bravery under the most adverse circumstances. They deplore the dissensions which weakened the national defense against the invaders, and recognize the want of skill in their generals, but their orators annually laud the soldiers in the ranks who fought with heroism in a hopeless contest, and hold up their example as a pattern for the rising generation of their countrymen.

But during my residence I saw little evidence of bitterness of feeling against Americans because of the war which despoiled the Mexicans of half their territory. Time has done much to heal the wounds of war, and after a generation and more have passed their intelligent citizens can see that the spirit which brought on the hostilities was slavery; that it was destroyed in the Civil War; and that a different spirit has since then controlled our Government, as was manifest in the sympathy shown the Liberals in their contest with Maximilian.

CHAPTER VII

REVOLUTIONARY MEXICO

I HAVE already referred to the insecurity of life and property existing in the Valley of Mexico during the first years of my residence. The same state of affairs existed, possibly in a more aggravated form, throughout the country during the greater part of the term of President Lerdo. At no time was it free from some kind of a revolution, local or general. In 1874, after Lerdo had been in power for more than a year, he arranged an excursion into the Valley of Cuernavaca and to the famous cave of Cacahuamilpa, in the State of Guerrero, to which the Diplomatic Corps, members of his Cabinet, and other friends were invited. In a great banquet tendered to him and his party by the Governor of Morelos, at Cuernavaca, President Lerdo cited the fact of this excursion and the presence of eight Governors of States, as evidence that peace at last reigned throughout the Republic, and that it was possible for so many public officials to absent themselves from their posts. He seemed oblivious of the large cavalry escort which constantly accompanied him and of the army and rural guards which were on duty at every town and village through which he passed.

The trains on the only railroad in the country, that from Mexico City to Vera Cruz, constantly contained one or more cars loaded with a guard of armed soldiers. The *hacendados* did not venture off of their landed estates without an armed guard, and the richest of them lived in the cities for their personal safety. Every man of any importance traveling on the roads went "armed to the teeth." The *conductas* or bullion trains, which brought the gold and silver from the

mines to the mint in the City of Mexico, or for exportation, were always heavily protected by guards. It was the custom at large mining-centres, such as Zacatecas and Guanajuato, to combine the output of the different mines in one large *conducta* at stated intervals, and the Government would furnish a detachment of the army as a guard. From such distant points as the State of Chihuahua the *conductas* were several weeks on the road before reaching the City of Mexico. From isolated mines the *conductas* were formed by and at the expense of the proprietors.

I give a statement furnished me by the manager of a well-known mine which I was visiting, situated in the mountains about one hundred and twenty miles from the Capital: "Owing to the rugged character of the country wheel conveyance is impracticable, and pack-mules must be employed. The number of men composing the guard varies somewhat according to the amount of silver. It is always better to send a large amount, as the expense is considerably greater on a small amount, in proportion to what it would be on a larger quantity. An escort for, say, fifty thousand ounces of silver would require from thirty to forty armed men, five muleteers, and twenty pack-mules. The men who form the guard are carefully picked out from the inhabitants of the district, and consist chiefly of small farmers who hold lands under the company, and the superior workmen from the mines who can be spared from their work. It is always an object of ambition to be placed on the *conductas*, and consequently we are able to pick out the best and most trustworthy men. The guards have to supply their own horses and find their own living on the road. Great care is taken that no information gets abroad as to the date of departure of the *conducta*, owing to the risk of such news allowing time for bands of robbers to collect. It being decided to send down the silver, instructions will be given the night before. By daylight next morning the required number of men with their horses will

collect in the courtyard and receive arms from the company, consisting of a German needle carbine and a large revolver, the men providing themselves with swords. Thus prepared the muleteers bring forward the pack-mules, the silver bars are delivered over wrapped in coarse matting, and securely fastened one on each side of the pack-saddles. The *conducta* on arrival in the Capital goes straight to the mint. The journey, going and returning, occupies from six to eight days."

It can readily be seen that this condition of affairs greatly retarded the development of mining, which was and is the chief industry of the country. Neither could commerce greatly flourish. The rate of exchange between the Capital and near-by cities was often as high as from three to five per cent, and for the cities in distant parts of the Republic even ten per cent.

I have noted the saying that one will not know Mexico till he has experienced an earthquake and passed through a revolution. We had enough of the former to satisfy our curiosity, and we were fated to witness the latter on a most extensive scale.

Benito Juarez, the great hero of the Reform Movement, was chosen President of the Republic in 1858 and continued at the head of the Government through the War of the Reform and the French Intervention. After the fall of Maximilian in 1867 an election was held and Juarez was again chosen for four years. When his term approached the end, his personal adherents insisted that the Reform Movement still required him at the head of the Government. I was once dining with a humorous Mexican friend. In due course the *olla podrida* was served, a very savory and popular dish composed of various stewed meats, vegetables, and fruits, universally a part of Mexican dinners. When it came to the table he said: "You know we call this *el plato Juarez*."

I expressed surprise and asked for an explanation.

"O! yes; *el plato Juarez,* for we have Don Benito with us always."

A large party in the country opposed the reëlection of Juarez in 1867, and supported the candidacy of General Porfirio Diaz, who had gained great popularity in the late war against the French. When the candidacy of Juarez was again announced in 1871 the partisans of Diaz loudly protested against it; and Lerdo, who had been Juarez' Minister for Foreign Affairs and was then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and *ex-officio* Vice-President, also declared his opposition. In the election none of the three candidates, Juarez, Diaz, or Lerdo, had a majority upon the returns, and the choice devolved upon the Congress, which declared Juarez President.

The most fruitful source of the revolutions which have marked the independent existence of the Latin-American States has been the effort of the public men of those countries to continue themselves in power or to attain the Presidency by other than peaceful and constitutional methods. This has been preëminently the case in the history of Mexico, and proved true in the epoch under review. The re-inauguration of Juarez was followed by a pronunciamento by Diaz, declaring his election illegal and void, because he had prevented a fair expression of the popular will by force and official intimidation, and he took up arms, with the battle-cry of "no reëlection." Lerdo's partisans in various parts of the country followed the example of Diaz, but Lerdo himself did not leave the Capital and took no open part in the revolt. The whole nation was soon turned into an armed camp, and bloody battles occurred between the Government troops and the revolutionists in many sections of the country. The situation indicated the triumph of Diaz, when on July 18, 1872, Juarez died suddenly of an attack of apoplexy.

The angel of death proved to be the messenger of peace. Lerdo, as Vice-President, assumed the Presidency, Diaz

acquiesced in the act, and an election resulted in the choice of Lerdo for the constitutional term of four years. A general proclamation of amnesty was issued, and there seemed the promise of an era of peace for the country. Diaz came quietly to the Capital after the election, and lived in retirement, manifesting little interest in political affairs, although he had been elected a member of Congress. It was said that the Administration made overtures to him to accept a foreign mission, which he declined. When it became apparent that President Lerdo would seek a reëlection Diaz left the Capital and went to his native State of Oaxaca. Meanwhile discontent was manifesting itself in various parts of the country and local uprisings were frequent.

As early as May, 1875, Congress conferred on the President what are termed "extraordinary faculties." This is a species of legislation quite common in the system of government of Mexico and other Latin-American States, but is never resorted to except in the face of an alarming revolution, or at least under the pretext of great danger to the nation. Its objectionable features, in a republican point of view, are that it suspends the legislative power and makes the Executive a dictator.

This action of Congress satisfied the partisans of Diaz that their candidate would stand no chance of obtaining a free expression of the popular will at the coming presidential election, and they resolved again to appeal to arms. In January, 1876, the "Plan of Tuxtepec" was proclaimed in one of the mountain towns of Oaxaca from which it took its name, denouncing the reëlection of Lerdo, and naming Diaz as the regenerator of the country. Oaxaca and the neighboring States were soon in revolt, but the Government sent large masses of troops into that region, and Diaz transferred his operations to the Rio Grande frontier. The entire country was again in the throes of a revolution even more widespread than that of 1871 against Juarez, and early in the year we

to it the same security, stability, and prosperity which our people enjoyed; there was no other solution to the existing conditions. He took leave of me sadly, saying he never expected to return to his country. Soon after he died in Europe, but his children are still living in Mexico, and have greatly benefited in their father's estate by the era of protection and prosperity of the Diaz régime.

The railroad officials, having no confidence in their ability to keep the road open, advised me to return as soon as possible; and on the evening of the day of my arrival I left Vera Cruz for the Capital on a special train. The regular train which left the next morning was thrown from the track by a guerrilla band, claiming to be partisans of Diaz, the passengers were stripped of their arms and valuables, the train burned, and the road torn up. For weeks afterwards the traffic was suspended, until the track was put in order under military protection, only to be again interrupted. During this period, in order to keep the Government at Washington informed of affairs, I had to employ a private courier to carry my dispatches to Vera Cruz.

After the arrival of General Diaz on the Rio Grande frontier, he made his headquarters at Brownsville, on the American side of the river, until his supporters were in condition to assume hostilities. The Lerdo Government made complaint of this at Washington as an infringement of hospitality and an abuse of American territory, but no open violation of the neutrality laws was established. In a short time Diaz joined his partisans in the State of Tamaulipas, but he was defeated by the Government forces, his adherents dispersed, and he again took refuge on American territory. He had had startling experiences and escapes during the French intervention, but he was now to pass through an adventure which eclipsed all the other experiences which had given him such a reputation for daring.

He resolved to return to his home in Oaxaca and there

again raise the standard which the Lerdo forces had overthrown. He went to New Orleans and took passage, in disguise and under an assumed name, on the American mail steamer for Vera Cruz. En route the steamer called at Tampico, but owing to the bar it anchored two or three miles out at sea. Here a number of officers of the regular Mexican army, who were well acquainted with Diaz, embarked for Vera Cruz, and the latter felt sure they recognized him. If so his capture at Vera Cruz and execution seemed certain. That night he threw himself into the sea, which is usually alive with sharks, feeling able to swim ashore, being athletic and a good swimmer. But the cry "man overboard" was sounded by the watch, a boat was lowered, and he was brought back to the steamer in the sight of many passengers. The purser of the ship, being in the secret of his voyage, at once took him in charge, spirited him away, and he was not seen again.

On arrival of the vessel at Vera Cruz the Government officials were informed of his presence aboard, and a thorough search was made by the port guard, but Diaz was not found. In a way which has never been made public he reached the shore in safety, and was soon again among his faithful adherents in the mountain fastnesses of his native State. After the triumph of his cause and Diaz was seated in the presidency, the purser of the steamer, though an American citizen, was appointed to the lucrative post of Consul-General at San Francisco, which he held for many years.

The presence in their midst of their favorite chieftain soon revived the waning fortunes of the revolutionists, and the mountaineers flocked to the Diaz standard; Alatorre, the ablest of the Lerdist generals, was driven out of Oaxaca, and on November 16, in a decisive battle at Tecoac, about seventy-five miles across the mountains east of the Capital, the Diaz forces were completely victorious over the main army of the Government.

When the news reached the city it spread consternation

in Administrative circles, as Lerdo had been made to believe that his generals would be able to drive Diaz back into Oaxaca. Nevertheless preparations were made for a defense of the city by fortifying the gates and concentrating troops, but on the 20th, after details of Alatorre's complete rout were received, all these preparations were abandoned, the Minister of War presented himself before the Congress, and, in the name of the President, stated that the Council of Ministers had decided that it was the duty of the President to maintain to the utmost the standard of legitimate and constitutional government, and that, following the example of Juarez, if forced to leave the Capital, he would, if necessary, sustain it in the remotest corner of the Republic.

This was accepted as an announcement that President Lerdo would abandon the Capital, and all classes were in a state of intense excitement. General Diaz, after the battle on the 16th, not realizing the completeness of his triumph, had marched to Puebla to reorganize his army preparatory to an advance on the Capital. If Lerdo and his forces abandoned it, there would be an interregnum of some days before Diaz could assume the Government, and in the mean time it was feared that the city might be given over to the rioting of the lawless elements. Banks and commercial houses would then be exposed to pillage. The leading banking-house of the city was next-door neighbor to my Legation, and alarmed at the situation my friend, the manager, asked that he might transfer the contents of his vaults to an adjoining room of the Legation, which could be done unobserved by making an inside opening in the wall; the idea being entertained that a wholesome respect for the American flag would deter a mob of pillagers from entering the Legation premises.

Darkness fell upon the city the night of the 20th with a feeling of gloom and fear pervading the inhabitants, as it was generally known that the Government was preparing to

evacuate. I invited a few of my countrymen to come to the Legation that night, and with them the bank officials and the members of the Legation staff. All of them saw fit to come armed. There was no slumber for that company, but we were a cheerful party, passing the time at whist or other games, with a supper at a late hour of the night, or rather an early one of the morning. There were many such gatherings in the banking and commercial houses of the Capital that night.

Our vigil passed with only two interruptions. A Senator called at an early hour to ask if he might become my temporary guest. He had been a champion in Congress of the Lerdo régime and showed much bitterness towards the Diaz movement, and feared that he might be exposed to insult, if not danger, from excited partisans of Diaz before order was established. He was my personal friend and I was glad to give him a room in my house. In the early hours of the morning General ——, a gallant old soldier, a former Minister of War, my near neighbor, for a similar reason also asked to become my guest, and brought with him his favorite war-horse, the companion of many campaigns, a noble animal. I gave the General my best chamber and quartered the charger in the Legation *patio*. My two distinguished guests remained with me for forty-eight hours only, but an amusing and somewhat embarrassing condition was developed. These two gentlemen, while both hostile to the Diaz movement, were bitter personal enemies, and could not be brought together at my table or in my family circle. So they were voluntary recluses in their own apartments during their stay. The practice of resort by public men to legation asylum is quite common in the Latin-American States in time of disorder and revolution, but my experience in this instance was unique, in that the Legation at one and the same time afforded protection to public men, bank treasures, and war-horses.

On the morning of the 21st it was learned that President Lerdo, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and three other members of his Cabinet, had left the city at two o'clock in the morning. He was also accompanied by several Senators and Deputies of Congress, the Governor of the Federal District, and a number of personal and political friends, and escorted by a force of one thousand cavalry, taking the road leading to Toluca, the Capital of the State of Mexico, sixteen leagues to the west.

The garrison of the Capital remained in the city under its commander. Immediately upon the departure of Señor Lerdo the government of the city was assumed by a person named in advance as provisional governor by General Diaz. The municipal police, guards, and the federal garrison at once acknowledged his authority, and civil affairs went on as usual, without any apparent break or disturbance in government. During the two and a half days in which the city was in this interregnum, as I have noted, a general feeling of insecurity and apprehension of disorder pervaded commercial and social circles, but, greatly to the credit of the inhabitants, peace and order remained undisturbed, and the various police duties and municipal administration of affairs were enforced as thoroughly as under the most rigid and responsible government.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRIUMPH OF DIAZ

NOTICE was sent immediately to General Diaz of the abandonment of the city by President Lerdo. He was then at Puebla, and the railroad not being in working order he, with a small escort, came over the mountains with all speed, but did not make his entry into the city till the afternoon of November 23, 1876, when he was received by an immense concourse of people with hearty demonstrations of enthusiasm. He was verily the hero of the hour, and he proved the pacificator of the country. For a generation to come Mexico was destined to enjoy an unexampled era of peace, security, and prosperity.

Lerdo had fled, but a new source of trouble was encountered by General Diaz. Under the Mexican Constitution the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was *ex-officio* Vice-President, and it was made his duty in case of a vacancy in the Presidency to assume the duties. A month before the fall of Lerdo, Mr. Iglesias, the Chief Justice, left the Capital, and from the city of Guanajuato issued a proclamation to the people, declaring that Lerdo's election as President was unconstitutional and void, and by his illegal acts he had forfeited the office, which Iglesias assumed temporarily until a new election could be held. A number of the interior States supported Iglesias, and an army was being collected to enforce his claims. He refused to recognize the revolutionary movement of Diaz, and the latter, immediately after his occupation of the Capital, marched against him.

But no further fighting was necessary. The country recog-

nized Diaz as the nation's chieftain. Besides his qualities as a dashing and successful general, he possessed a reputation for honesty and sincerity which inspired public confidence, and it was felt not only that he had been unjustly debarred from the Presidency, but that under his rule the Republic might enjoy an era of peace for which the substantial interests of the country so greatly longed. The forces of Iglesias melted away, nor could Lerdo find supporters in the west. Both took refuge in the United States and left Diaz in undisputed possession of power.

Señor Lerdo took up his residence in New York City, from which place he awaited the result of efforts being made on the Rio Grande frontier by his Minister of War and other adherents to restore him to power. But all these efforts came to naught, and he remained in that city up to his death. He claimed that he was the constitutional President of the nation, and that as the official exponent of a legitimate government he could not return to the country and resume his citizenship without a tacit recognition of the revolutionary régime of General Diaz, which he was determined never to make. He therefore became a voluntary exile from his country, which he had served so long and with so much distinction and to which he was greatly attached.

There was no interdict against his return and no confiscation of his estate, the income of which was regularly sent to him in New York. He lived there a quiet, almost obscure life, but at his death his remains were taken to the City of Mexico and buried with marked honors in the National Cemetery, among the "Immortals." He was a gentleman of culture, an able lawyer, and one of the most useful of Mexico's public men, having rendered important services during the War of the Reform and the French Intervention. His great mistake was in seeking a reëlection to the Presidency, after he had denounced the practice and opposed the reëlection of Juarez. My personal relations with him in Mexico were very

PORFIRIO DIAZ

President of Mexico

cordial, and the visits which I made to him in his retirement in New York seemed very grateful to him.

General Diaz, having received the adhesion of the Iglesias army and of all the States, proceeded to establish himself in authority, as the decree announced, according to the terms of the Constitution by calling for elections to choose a President, members of the Supreme Court, and the Congress. The decree, however, excluded from candidature all persons who in civil or military grades had done anything to recognize the reëlection of Señor Lerdo, who had participated in what were termed the electoral frauds, or who had voted in favor of the "extraordinary faculties." These prohibitions excluded from office more than three fourths of the members of the last two Congresses, and of the Supreme Court, and a vast number of civil and military officials, among the most experienced and able of the prominent citizens of the Republic. The persons elected were required to take an oath to support the Constitution and the "Plan of Tuxtepec," by which latter provision all successful candidates would have to recognize the principles and practice of revolution as established by General Diaz. These conditions were declared by the Opposition press to be more odious, illiberal, and exclusive than the electoral methods of the Lerdo Government.

In the election held only a few months before, Lerdo had been declared to be chosen President by a practically unanimous vote. As may be anticipated, none but the "Porfiristas" (the term applied to the partisans of Diaz) participated in the new election, Diaz was declared to be chosen President by the unanimous vote of the nation, and the members elected to the Supreme Court and to Congress were all of his party, not a single Opposition member being chosen to Congress.

General Diaz returned to the Capital from his expedition against Iglesias on February 15, 1877, and resumed the executive duties, those having been discharged during his ab-

sence by one of his trusted generals. His first desire, in his foreign relations, was to secure the recognition of his Government by the United States and I was confronted with this question immediately after his return.

By the terms of the Claims Treaty of 1868, Mexico was to make the first payment of $300,000 to the United States on the awards of the Claims Commission on January 31, 1877. When Diaz entered the Capital on November 23 he found the Federal Treasury empty, and his first act was to borrow from the bankers a sum sufficient to meet this payment, on which loan he obligated his Government to pay twelve per cent interest. The acceptance of this payment from the Diaz Government would constitute a recognition of it on the part of the United States, and the policy of the latter was not to be hasty in recognizing a revolutionary party established on the overthrow of the constitutional Government. I was authorized, however, by Secretary Fish to make the recognition, if it became necessary in order to enable Mexico to comply with the treaty and make the payment. But the Diaz Government, realizing this situation, agreed to make the payment through Señor Mariscal, the Mexican Minister in Washington accredited by the Lerdo Administration, and through the accommodating spirit of the Diaz Government that question was for the occasion avoided.

Still it was manifest that Diaz had created a *de facto* government which was recognized throughout the Republic, and it was the only government with which I could hold relations to protect American interests. I therefore determined to assume the responsibility of establishing unofficial relations with it, and to postpone the formal and official recognition until after the elections had been held and Diaz installed as constitutional President. On consultation with my diplomatic colleagues, they agreed to pursue the same course. Accordingly, without making any written communication on the subject, I made a formal call upon General Diaz and

each member of his Cabinet, which was promptly reciprocated by a return call upon me at the Legation by each of them; and, though I continued to transact business with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, my written communications were always marked "unofficial."

General Diaz was greatly relieved and gratified at my action, and I at once entered into very friendly personal relations with him. When he came to the Capital he established himself in very modest and contracted quarters in a part of the National Palace, or Federal Building, where I was a frequent visitor. He manifested none of the boastful spirit of the victorious general, but was modest in the assumption of civil executive duties, plainly showed that he was walking in an untried path, and welcomed counsel and encouragement in the establishment of a government of law and order.

The elections in February, 1877, having resulted in the choice of Diaz as President, and of a new Congress and Supreme Court, steps were at once taken to have the revolutionary government assume the character of a constitutional one. After the new judiciary was established and the Congress organized, on May 5 General Diaz was inaugurated President with much pomp, and took the prescribed oath to uphold and defend the Constitution.

I promptly advised the Government at Washington of this event by telegraph, and solicited its instructions as to the course I should pursue. As early as January I had advised my Government that, upon the establishment of a constitutional form, the Government of Diaz should be officially recognized; but six weeks elapsed before the instructions asked for were received. Meanwhile, and ever since the elections in February, the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs manifested much anxiety and even impatience as to the action of the United States respecting recognition. General Diaz, after the formal assumption of power in February,

had addressed an autograph letter to the President of the United States and the other heads of governments with which Mexico had diplomatic relations, informing them of that event. To this letter no reply had been received from the President of the United States.

To aggravate the situation, all the other governments made formal recognition through their Ministers soon after the constitutional inauguration. The delay on the part of the United States, besides being a great disappointment, was a source of much embarrassment to the new Administration in Mexico. At an early day after the Diaz Revolutionary Government was installed in the Capital, Señor José M. Mata, a man of large experience in public affairs, a good English scholar, and an estimable gentleman, had been commissioned as Minister to the United States; but on his arrival in Washington he found that he would not be received. This left the Minister of the Lerdo Administration (Sr. Mariscal) in charge of the Mexican Legation in Washington, and all the Lerdist Consuls also in office throughout the United States, whilst Lerdo's partisans were seeking to set on foot a counter-revolution to restore their leader to power.

Another event occurred about this time which threatened to cause an irreparable breach between the two countries. For a number of years previous to this time the condition of affairs on the land frontier had been very unsatisfactory. Uncivilized Indians were living on both sides of and not far from the international boundary. Indians made incursions from one side and the other, and it was charged that the local authorities were not vigilant to prevent these depredations. But the chief locality of the trouble was on the Rio Grande frontier, where not only the Indians but smugglers and revolutionists were constantly disturbing the peace. The citizens and authorities of Texas were continually sending their complaints to Washington and clamoring for protection and redress.

Early in the Administration of President Lerdo, the Government of the United States directed its Minister to give notice to the Mexican Government that unless these disorders were suppressed, instructions would be given to the American troops to follow the marauders across the border into Mexico and punish them. Later, permission was asked of the Mexican Government for this purpose, but it was not granted, the latter undertaking to make more vigorous effort to suppress the disorders.

It deplored the situation and doubtless was actuated by a sincere desire to put an end to the troubles, but there were three obstacles which stood in the way of efficient measures on its part. First, the straitened circumstances of the Treasury prevented the maintenance of a large federal force in that distant locality; second, the soldiers, who were conscripts, took advantage of the nearness of the frontier to desert; and, third, the revolutionary state of the country caused more pressing need for the army elsewhere. This situation led the American federal forces to cross the frontier in hot pursuit of raiders more than once in President Lerdo's time, but such acts were followed by vigorous protests on the part of Mexico.

For some time after the accession of General Diaz, he was too busy with securing the consolidation of his Administration to give much attention to the Rio Grande frontier, with the result that the outlaws and smugglers had a free hand. Added to this disorder, General Escabedo, Lerdo's Minister of War, had established himself in Texas near the border, and his adherents were seeking to organize a counter-revolution. This brought about conflicts with the Diaz authorities, who in more than one instance pursued the revolutionists across the river into Texas. In view of the turbulent condition of affairs, the Secretary of War of the United States on June 1, 1877, issued an order to General Ord, commanding in Texas, authorizing the federal troops, where in his judgment it

became necessary, to pursue Mexican marauders across the frontier and arrest or punish them on Mexican soil.

This order when published in Mexico created the most intense excitement, and both the Opposition and the Administration newspapers denounced it as a gross disregard of Mexican sovereignty and an insult to the whole nation. General Diaz, under the impulse of the popular demand, caused instructions to be sent to the general in command, directing him to put himself in communication with the American commander on the frontier and offer his coöperation for the suppression of outlawry and disorder, but should the American troops enter Mexican territory and exercise jurisdiction, he should "repel with force the insult that is sought to be inflicted on Mexico by the invasion of her territory."

The day before the order to the Mexican commander was issued, I had a notable interview with Señor Vallarta, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The instructions which I had so impatiently awaited from the Government at Washington respecting the recognition of the Diaz Government had finally reached me and I was directed to communicate them to him. They were disappointing to me, and I knew they would create a serious condition of affairs with Mexico. I was informed that the Government of the United States would wait before recognizing General Diaz as the President of Mexico until it was assured that his election was approved by the Mexican people, and that his Administration possessed stability to endure and a disposition to comply with the rules of international comity and the obligations of treaties. The dispatch embodying these instructions contained a review of the Rio Grande border troubles, the injuries sustained by American citizens through unjust exactions, the imprisonment of a Consul, and various other causes of complaint, and stated that some adjustment of these matters should precede recognition, as the United States, while it

sought amity and cordial relations with the sister Republic, preferred to await some evidence that its friendship would be reciprocated.

After reading the dispatch a lengthy conversation followed. Señor Vallarta insisted that the Government of General Diaz possessed all the conditions of recognition required by international law and practice, and he cited the recognition already made by all the other nations with which Mexico had diplomatic relations. So far as concerned the complaints of the United States and the claims of its citizens, he said their adjustment properly should follow recognition, especially as some of them required treaty or diplomatic agreements.

He then charged that a change had taken place in the policy of the Government of the United States with the advent of President Hayes; for while Mr. Fish was Secretary of State, a disposition had been manifested that, with the inauguration of General Diaz as constitutional President, he would be recognized as such. He claimed to have private advices from New York and Washington that a scheme had been concocted to bring about a war and annexation of Mexican territory; and that the order to General Ord, who was an annexationist, was designed to accomplish this. He inveighed bitterly against the military order of June 1, declaring that it had disregarded all the rules of international law and the practices of civilized nations, and treated the Mexicans as savages, as Kaffirs of Africa; that an absolute declaration of war would have been more considerate; and that no Government could stand in Mexico for a moment against the popular indignation, if it did not repel the invasion of its territory by force of arms.

The report of this interview and the documents connected with the order of June 1 have been published, and I do not reproduce here my answer to the foregoing, in which I sought to maintain the justice of the position of our Government.

My report of Señor Vallarta's statements falls far short of conveying a fair idea of the intensity of his feelings.

There is no doubt of the correctness of his statement that there had been a change of policy as to recognition after the inauguration of President Hayes, and there was some foundation for his charge that a scheme had been formed to bring on a war through the Texas troubles. Some months later when I visited Washington I was informed on good authority that certain gentlemen, whose names were given me and who were especially interested in the success of the Administration of President Hayes, had conceived the idea that, in view of the tension in the public mind created by the partisans of Mr. Tilden and of the disturbed condition of affairs in the Southern States, it would divert attention from pending issues and tend greatly to consolidate the new Administration, if a war could be brought on with Mexico and another slice of its territory added to the Union.

The change of policy as to recognition of the Diaz Government and the vigorous policy as to the Rio Grande frontier indicated in the order of June 1, authorizing the crossing into Mexico of American troops, may be explained by the existence of such a scheme. There was other evidence pointing in that direction. In the same month of June, about the time of my interview with Señor Vallarta, two gentlemen arrived in Mexico bringing letters to me from Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State. One of these was Señor Vallejo, a resident of California at the time of its annexation to the United States, and then a Mexican citizen of Spanish descent, at that time a large landowner and prominent in the early history of that State. He was accompanied by his son-in-law, General John B. Frisbie, an American, of pleasing address and energetic spirit, but of a visionary temperament.

Before coming to Mexico they visited Washington and laid before Mr. Evarts and others prominent in Administration circles their plan, which was to put such pressure upon

Mexico as would present to it the alternative of hostilities or the sale of some of the northern States of that Republic. They claimed that as Mexico was hard-pushed financially, rather than run the risk of a war with the United States, and his overthrow by the Lerdist party, General Diaz for a large sum of money would consent to part with the territory. They, with a knowledge of the language and of the Mexican character, were to be the intermediaries through whom Diaz was to be approached and the terms of purchase to be informally agreed upon, after which the official negotiations were to be conducted.

Strange to say, their scheme was so far entertained that they were empowered in a purely unofficial way to approach Diaz on the subject. There never was the remotest chance of success, but even the ghost of a chance was destroyed by their own conduct. Too many persons in Washington were in the secret, Señor Vallejo was a garrulous old man, and both he and his son-in-law were so greatly elated with the importance of their mission that it was very faintly concealed. The Washington correspondents got into the secret, and while the emissaries were en route their plans were published to the world. The Mexican Government indignantly denied that it ever had been approached or that it would for a moment entertain any such unpatriotic proposal, and Messrs. Vallejo and Frisbie had nothing left them on arrival in Mexico but to disavow their mission.

Other incidents occurred still further to complicate the relations between the two Governments. Señor Mata grew restive and weary under his position at Washington, and asked to be relieved. Señor Zamacona, a justice of the Supreme Court, a man of high ability, and familiar with the United States, was sent to replace him; but he shared the same fate, and was unable to change the attitude of Secretary Evarts as to recognition. Señor Mata on his return reported to his Government and said to me that he had little hope of a

peaceful settlement of our difficulties. About the same time, in my dispatches to the Department of State, I stated that with the public and in official circles there was a growing restiveness and bitterness of feeling on account of the delay in recognition; that there was a wide-spread feeling in the country that our Government was inspired with its "manifest destiny" sooner or later to absorb the whole of Mexico; and that every positive act on our part was interpreted as a deliberate plan to provoke a conflict and acquire territory.

I had been directed by Secretary Evarts and empowered by the President to negotiate with Mexico a treaty to cover all the matters of difference, to regulate the frontier questions, to adjust the outstanding claims, to protect American citizens from forced loans and revolutionary exactions, and to put our commercial intercourse on a better footing. In various interviews with Señor Vallarta I had urged these subjects upon his attention, and we had examined the different matters in detail, but little progress had been made. Finally, acting upon Secretary Evarts's instructions I pressed for a treaty. Señor Vallarta laid the matter before President Diaz, and, after a Cabinet consultation, he informed me that it had been determined that no treaty should be agreed upon nor any of the pending questions further considered until after his Government had been officially recognized; that this act was demanded as a right and that no condition precedent should be made; as it was neither respectable nor honorable to beg recognition.

Being satisfied that the Government at Washington misapprehended the situation in Mexico and the spirit of the Diaz Government, during the summer of 1877 I asked leave to visit Washington to confer with the President and Secretary of State; but Secretary Evarts did not think it best for me to leave my post. The autumn wore away into the winter without any clash on the Rio Grande frontier, but with no

further progress made towards a relief of the strained relations between the two Governments.

An ineffectual effort had been put forth to secure some action of the Congress of the United States in support of the Administration's attitude respecting Mexican affairs, but a committee of the House of Representatives was engaged in making an investigation of conditions on the Rio Grande frontier, with a member of the House from Texas as chairman who was in sympathy with the attitude of the Administration. In January, 1878, I was summoned to appear before that committee, and under the instructions of the Secretary of State, I went to Washington, and gave my testimony before the committee respecting the situation on the frontier, the stability of the Diaz Government, and its disposition towards American citizens and enterprises.

The President and Secretary Evarts became satisfied from my representations that it would be better not to delay further the recognition, and I carried back with me to Mexico authority to place myself in official relations with the Mexican Government. This I did by communicating to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a copy of my instructions to that end on April 11, 1878, sixteen months after General Diaz had entered the Capital and taken possession of the Government, and nearly a year after he had been recognized by the other Powers. This period had been one of intense anxiety to the Diaz Administration, and of great embarrassment to me personally, as it was my duty loyally to support my Government, and I could not intimate to the Mexicans that the policy as to recognition was contrary to my recommendation and advice.

Immediately after the recognition I was invited by the President to a banquet given in my honor in the National Palace to celebrate the gratifying event, at which there were present the Cabinet and leading Government officials; and the week following the President accepted an invitation to

a dinner at the Legation attended by the Cabinet, the Diplomatic Corps, and other high officials. The utmost cordiality prevailed and the hope was entertained that the two neighboring Republics had entered upon a new era of mutual confidence and friendly relations.

CHAPTER IX

MEXICO UNDER DIAZ

Upon receipt by the Department of State of my notification that official relations had been reëstablished with the Mexican Government, on May 7 Señor Zamacona was received by President Hayes and delivered his credentials, which he had been waiting in Washington six months to present. In order not to leave the Mexican Government without official relations pending recognition of General Diaz, Señor Ignacio Mariscal, the accredited Minister under President Lerdo, remained at his post and discharged his delicate duties with impartiality. He had resided many years in the United States, first as Secretary and afterwards as Minister.

Señor Mariscal returned to Mexico in April, 1878, and remained in private life for a short time only, as President Diaz knew too well his ability and experience to allow the country to be deprived of his services. He was a member of the Constituent Congress and signed the Constitution of 1857 which inaugurated the Reform Movement and which still continues to be the fundamental law of Mexico. President Diaz made him a member of his Cabinet in 1879, and the following year he assumed the duties of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, which post he has continued to hold, with a short interval as Minister to Great Britain. His career as a diplomatist has not been equaled in length of service by any one of his generation, and few public men of any country have had to do with such weighty questions or discharged their duties with such signal success. He has remained continuously the Prime Minister of the Diaz Government, and to him is due a large share of the credit for its achievements.

Another instance of the discernment of General Diaz in availing his Administration of the services of the adherents of his former antagonist, Lerdo, was his treatment of Manuel Romero Rubio. The latter as a Senator unsparingly denounced the revolutionary proceeding of Diaz and ably contended for the maintenance of the constitutional methods of government. A short time before his fall, President Lerdo made him his Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and he accompanied his defeated chief into exile, and remained with him for some time in New York awaiting the result of General Escobedo's efforts to create a reaction against Diaz. When those efforts failed, Romero Rubio's longing for his native land, the comforts of his palatial home, and the endearments of his charming family were too strong to be longer resisted, and he quietly returned to Mexico and resumed his residence as a private citizen. He had a large circle of influential friends and was one of the most forceful politicians in the country, and it was not a great while before President Diaz offered him a place in his Cabinet.

There is a romance connected with the Romero Rubio family, in which the American Legation played an important part and which resulted in lasting and beneficent influence upon the destinies of the Republic. This was one of the first of the Mexican families with whom Mrs. Foster and I established intimate social relations, and our children were much together in the seven years of our residence there. When Señor Manuel Romero Rubio fled from the Capital with President Lerdo on that gloomy November night, in taking leave of me he commended to my care his wife and children, in case they should need protection from the anticipated Diaz uprising in the city. Happily no such danger threatened them, and on a visit to their residence the next morning I found them assured of safety.

On the return of Señor Romero Rubio, he, his wife, and eldest daughter were often visitors at the Legation on our

informal Tuesday night receptions. On one of these nights President Diaz honored us with his presence. His attention was attracted to the beautiful and charming daughter of his implacable foe, the former Senator and Cabinet Minister, and he asked Mrs. Foster to present him to her, which she did with some trepidation, knowing the existing political antipathy. This acquaintance later ripened into a matrimonial engagement, and the winsome daughter of the Lerdist chief became "the first lady" of the land.

It proved to be an alliance of prime importance for the country. General Diaz was not without education and culture, as he had passed through the collegiate school of his native State and was engaged in his course of study for the law when the American invasion of 1847 occurred, which led him into the army. Thenceforth his whole life was that of a soldier, and he needed the gentle nature of a woman of refinement to soften the asperities acquired in the camp and field. Mrs. Diaz was an accomplished English and French scholar, vivacious and attractive in conversation, and the President's residence easily became the leading centre of Mexican society. She was also a devout Catholic and active in church enterprises and charities. As the head of the Government, as well as a conspicuous leader in the Reform Movement, President Diaz had to see to the enforcement of the rigorous laws against the Catholic Church; but the gentle influence of Mrs. Diaz made them appear less harsh to the hierarchy. With the affectionate familiarity characteristic of the Spanish race, the people called her by the endearing title of "Carmencita," and she became the idol of the nation.

The friendly feeling and cordiality manifested at the time of the recognition by the United States of the Diaz Government in April, 1878, was unfortunately of short duration. The ground upon which Secretary Evarts based his instruction to me to make the recognition was that the Government of General Diaz found itself embarrassed in the discussion of

pending matters of difference between the two nations, and placed under constraint in reaching a satisfactory settlement of these matters by the absence of recognition. I was instructed to follow up the recognition by insisting upon some permanent measures for the preservation of peace and the punishment of outlawry on the frontier, the better protection of American citizens and their interests in Mexico, and the settlement of the various matters of complaint already presented.

I accordingly entered with the Minister of Foreign Affairs upon a consideration of these matters, and was encountering the delays incident to diplomatic negotiations with a new government not strongly intrenched in power and with a scant treasury, when complications arose which made the negotiations still more difficult. Escobedo, the Lerdist general, had again visited Texas and was engaged in the effort to start another revolution in the frontier Mexican States. Disorder and outlawry were again rampant, and during the spring and summer of 1878 the American troops several times crossed into Mexico in pursuit of or to punish marauders.

This threw the public press of the Capital into a state of more or less frantic excitement. The old reports were circulated anew that the Government of the United States was inspired by a hostile spirit, and was seeking to bring about annexation or a protectorate over Mexico. The Diaz Government, influenced in some degree by the public clamor, brought the negotiations to a standstill, and demanded that the order of June 1 authorizing the crossing of the frontier by American troops should be withdrawn.

Señor Zamacona, the Mexican Minister to the United States, ineffective in his efforts with Secretary Evarts, sought, with some diplomatic circumspection, to create a public sentiment in the country favorable to Mexico. His address before a commercial convention at Chicago was interpreted as an appeal from the Government to the people of the United

MRS. PORFIRIO DIAZ

States and the Diaz official organ in Mexico City, in its report of the meeting said that "strong condemnation was uttered by distinguished persons against the annexation intrigue, which was so greatly disturbing the serenity of the relations between the two Republics."

Señor Matias Romero, so long the able Mexican representative in Washington, in a semi-official paper which he published at this crisis stated as a fact that "the Government of the United States entertained sentiments of hostility towards Mexico, and was looking for motives or pretexts for creating difficulties between the two nations." Nothing could be more significant of the state of public sentiment in the country than such an utterance from the one man who knew best the American Government and people from long residence and friendly feeling. A few years later Señor Romero again became the diplomatic representative in Washington, in which post he continued for sixteen years up to the time of his death.

In October, 1878, I reported to the Department of State that the prevailing belief in Mexico was that the situation would result in war. An incident had occurred the month previous in which I was an unintentional participant that afforded the press an opportunity to circulate more alarming rumors. It is the custom in Mexico to celebrate the anniversary of National Independence by a public celebration on the night of September 15, a part of the exercises being a meeting usually held in one of the largest theatres of the Capital, at which the President of the Republic presides, accompanied by his Cabinet and other high officials. On the occasion an oration is delivered, a poem recited, with patriotic songs and national airs, concluding with "El Grito de Hidalgo" for liberty and independence.

To the anniversary celebration of that year I was invited with my family and suite, and a prominent box reserved for our use. In view of the bitterness of feeling existing in the

country against my Government I feared that my absence might be misconstrued, and I attended the celebration with the Secretary of Legation and members of my family. The poem proved to be a fierce diatribe against the Government of the United States and its attitude on the questions then disturbing the public, read in a most excited manner, and it did not fail to stir up the audience to a state almost of frenzy. The cry of "Death to the Yankees" shouted from every part of the house, mingled with groans and cat-calls, fixed the attention of the entire audience upon the box of the American Minister. I remained impassive in my seat till the excitement subsided, and after the exercises were again in progress I quietly withdrew with my family, leaving the Secretary in the box.

The event gave occasion to various wild rumors in the press and political circles. One was that I had demanded my passports and was preparing to leave the country, thus breaking off diplomatic relations; another, that I had ceased to be *persona grata* and that the Mexican Government had asked for my recall. The matter was being so freely discussed in the newspapers and even noticed in the "Official Journal," that I felt it necessary to write a personal note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stating that I had never for a moment considered the federal authorities in any way responsible for whatever had occurred in the national festival improper or discourteous to my country or Government, and that the demonstration could only be regarded as the unpremeditated expression of a miscellaneous audience in a time of popular excitement. The Minister responded that my note had given the President much pleasure, but that he had never thought that I had given the matter any importance, "as he knew so well your [my] high intelligence." The correspondence was published in the "Official Journal," and it put an end to the exciting rumors. It is due to the Mexican press to say that it was unanimous in expressing condemnation of the author of

the poem and of the demonstration as wanting in elementary courtesy and hospitality.

The same press, however, was united in condemning what it charged was the policy of the United States in seeking to bring about hostilities with a view to annexation or the establishment of a protectorate. A few extracts from one of the leading and most temperate of the newspapers of the Capital will show the spirit which animated the press at that time. It adds to the interest of the article from which the quotations are made when I state that the writer had traveled much in Europe and America, was familiar with our language, and had spent several months in the United States during the Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876. It was in part as follows: —

A Philadelphia paper, with audacity truly American, has asserted that our nation knocks at the door of the United States, demanding protection against the bandits who at the present time despoil it of its rich inheritance. It adds that if the public sentiment were consulted by means of the ballot, a verdict in favor of a protectorate of the American Government would be unanimous.

This is a falsehood. The protection of honor and good faith we do not solicit — still less will we accept the annexation which is masked as a protectorate. Whatever may be our misfortunes, we resign ourselves to them at once. This is the sentiment which prevails throughout Mexico.

There are no allies on this side of the Rio Grande. In case of war, there would be only enemies who would spring up from our rich soil. The climate also would be our ally. The national sentiment would, in addition, fortify itself in the antipathy of races, the difference of customs, and even in religious hatred.

Another campaign like that of 1847 and 1848 cannot be repeated successfully. The times of Santa Anna have passed.

The Mexicans have progressed. To-day they know that the American does not civilize — he exterminates. It is then a dream, a real nightmare, this project of annexation. . . .

Concerning public safety, in the United States it is as imperfect as in Mexico, and in certain places it absolutely does not exist. Trains are often thrown from the track, detained and robbed by parties of bandits, as in Missouri; the banks are assaulted by bands of armed men, as in St. Paul. In New York frequently in the commercial quarter warehouses are emptied in a single night by daring thieves. Not a day passes that ladies are not robbed in the streets. The same happens to men, with the difference that it is customary to assault or strangle them. Assassinations with knife and revolver are the order of the day. All these occurrences occupy columns daily in the newspapers. The well-organized police of New York is impotent against the rogues, burglars, and pickpockets.

Concerning the immorality of administration we will simply say that it has not a parallel in any other nation. The whiskey frauds, the trial of Babcock, that of ex-Secretary Belknap, that of Tweed, Mayor of New York; and in foreign countries, the Frémont bond affair and the Emma Mine by Minister Schenck, are shameless acts, which have overthrown the good credit of the United States. . . .

Here neither property nor the individual is guaranteed; neither are they in the United States. We had a corrupt and immoral administration; the people overthrew it, and at the present time are attempting their regeneration. The intervention of force in the elections disannuls the public vote, corrupts the institutions, and provokes civil war among the Mexicans. Official pressure, money lavished by handfuls upon electors, and the intervention of force also provoke deplorable disorders among the Americans.

We are far from excusing faults which we denounce daily before the tribunal of public opinion, endeavoring to correct

them; but when our elders in experience, our superiors in constitutional practice and in the administrative service cannot avoid them, can *we* correct *ours* instantaneously? How can they give us their protection, when they need regenerating themselves?

The want of agreement between the Governments of the United States and of Mexico and a certain tension in their relations continued through the autumn and winter of 1878–9. The Administration at Washington declined to recall the order of June 1, but with the better guarding of the frontier by Mexico, the crossing of American troops ceased, and happily no conflict occurred between the federal forces of the two Governments, and that only could lead to hostilities.

With the passage of time without any successful counter-revolution, President Diaz was enabled more and more to strengthen his hold upon power and improve his Administration. The customs and excise were more honestly accounted for and the financial credit of the Government improved. This fact and the general prevalence of order gave the President greater ability to meet the expectations of the Washington Administration, gradually a better state of relations resulted, the order for crossing of American troops was withdrawn, and the differences assumed a more satisfactory diplomatic footing. Before Diaz's first four-years' term expired the relations between the two Governments had become quite cordial.

We have seen that in organizing his revolution against Juarez and later against Lerdo, General Diaz made "no reëlection" his battle-cry. In establishing his Government after the expulsion of Lerdo from the country, he submitted to the States of the Republic an amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibiting the reëlection of the President of the Republic or the Governors of the States for the next succeeding term. This amendment was unanimously ap-

proved by the States and the Federal Congress, and duly proclaimed by President Diaz in 1878.

True to his professions, General Diaz retired from office at the expiration of his first four-years' term in 1880, and one of his favorite lieutenants was chosen as his successor; but the Administration of the latter proved so inefficient and corrupt that there was a universal demand from the country that Diaz should again resume the Presidency, which he did. This he could do without inconsistency, as a four-years' term had intervened since he had left the position. But during his second term, under his wise and successful management of affairs the country was so peaceful and prosperous that there arose again a universal demand that he should continue in office. This could only be done constitutionally by a repeal of the amendment adopted in 1878, and the States with alacrity took the necessary action. Under such conditions General Diaz will have remained at the end of his present term continuously in the Presidency for twenty-six years.

During those years the country has enjoyed unparalleled prosperity, and it was natural that the inhabitants who had been so greatly benefited by his administration should wish to continue him in power. But I regard it as mistaken statesmanship to have so long yielded to their desire. In reviewing the history of Mexico and the other independent Spanish-American States we have seen that the chief cause of their frequent revolutions has been the effort to change their presidents. The transfer of the administration by the peaceful and constitutional methods has proved in many instances a failure. This has been the case particularly in Mexico.

It would have been a wise and patriotic act for General Diaz to have retired from the Presidency at the end of his second term, leaving the prohibitive clause of the Constitution in force. He would then have been in a position to guarantee a peaceful election of a successor and a continuance of the good order and prosperity which he had established. The

people also might have had an opportunity to test their ability to conduct a government by means of a free and untrammeled exercise of the electoral franchise, a condition as yet unknown in Mexico. The benevolent autocracy under his administration has resulted in great prosperity for the country, but it has done little to educate the masses of the people in their duties under a republican government.

The biographer of Pericles, the greatest of the republican rulers of Athens, in describing the disorders which followed his death, makes these comments: "In his determination to be the foremost man in the city, he left no room for a second. . . . Under his shadow no fresh shoots sprang. He taught the people to follow him as leader, and left no one behind to lead them; he destroyed their independence — or at least the mutual play of opposite forces — and when he died came 'the deluge.' There was no one who could succeed him. A democracy without great men is a dangerous democracy."

Let us hope this will not be the experience of Mexico following the death of President Diaz.

CHAPTER X

COMMERCE AND RAILROADS

During my Mexican mission I devoted much time and thought to the improvement of the commercial relations between the two countries. At that time the foreign trade of Mexico was small and was chiefly with Europe. The smallness of the trade with the United States was due mainly to two causes,—first, the want of communication, and, second, the revolutionary character of the country. With the approval of our Government, I sought to negotiate a treaty of commercial reciprocity, but I soon found it impracticable. To establish commercial reciprocity the means of communication should be cheap and frequent. At first the only regular communication was by a steamer from New York once in three weeks, and later a steamer twice a month from New Orleans. A small subsidy was granted this line by Mexico, but no aid was given by the Government of the United States. It will be seen in my notice of railroad legislation at that period that intercourse by that method was not greatly favored in Mexico.

The revolutionary character of the country, the changes of customs officials at the ports, and the irregular and oppressive acts of those officials greatly obstructed free commerce by sea. A large part of my time was taken up with laying before the Mexican Government the complaints of American merchants and vessels, and those of other nations whose interests were under my care, for onerous exactions and injustice at the custom-houses. Besides, the constant disorders and insecurity in the country prevented the free development of its resources and tended to restrain commerce.

While I was Minister two commercial delegations visited the City of Mexico. The first of these came from New Orleans in commemoration of the establishment of the steamship line between that city and Vera Cruz. Their visit was on invitation of the "*Lonja Mercantil*" of the Capital; they received marked attention and hospitality from the mercantile organizations and prominent private citizens; and they were entertained with a dinner in the National Palace by the President, at which time he expressed the deep interest he felt in the development and enlargement of the commercial relations of the two countries. But their visit did not materially increase the trade.

In January, 1879, an excursion party, organized in Chicago with the avowed object of promoting more intimate commercial intercourse, visited the Capital. It was made up largely of tourists, but contained a number of representatives of manufacturing and commercial houses. The Government furnished them a suitable building in which to exhibit samples of their products and merchandise, and they were entertained with excursions, dinners, a ball, and other civilities. But this visit also had little influence upon the existing trade conditions.

It is fitting to note, in this connection, the history of the railroad communication between the two countries, as its establishment has greatly influenced the improved and enlarged commercial relations. Communication between the two Republics by an improved land route, which would afford free intercourse and trade, had always been a favorite measure with the Government of the United States. In the instructions which accompanied the appointment in 1825 of our first Minister to Mexico, Mr. Poinsett, which were written by the then Secretary of State, Henry Clay, our representative was particularly instructed to exert himself to secure the coöperation of the Mexican Government in the construction of a projected road to connect the two nations, from St.

Louis through the Indian Country, via Santa Fé; and similar instructions were given by the succeeding Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren.

Nothing came of these projects for many years, mainly owing to the revolutionary conditions in Mexico. On my arrival in the country the only railroad in operation, as already noticed, was that from the seaport of Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, and it had required about twenty years for its construction, because of the disturbed state of the country and the poverty of its treasury. The first serious step taken towards railroad communication with the United States was in 1874 in the celebration of a contract by the Lerdo Administration with Mr. E. L. Plumb, representing the Texas railroad system and New York capitalists. The approval of this contract was bitterly opposed in Congress, on the ground that it was unsafe to intrust railroad construction in the Republic to an American company, and that it was dangerous to its interests to have the railroad system of the United States extended into Mexican territory, as it would be used to facilitate another invasion of the country.

Mr. Plumb had not succeeded in securing the approval of his contract by the Congress and perfecting its terms when the Diaz revolution occurred, a part of the announced plan of which was the nullification of various of the contracts made by the Lerdo Administration. Mr. Plumb thereupon withdrew from the country, and the capitalists represented by him made no further efforts to secure a concession.

In 1877 a contract was made by the Diaz Government with a company represented by General W. J. Palmer for a system of railroads to connect the City of Mexico with the United States and with the Pacific Coast. This contract met with strong opposition in the Congress based upon much the same ground as that taken in resisting the Plumb contract. The leading opponent was Hon. Alfredo Chavero, a prominent public man, a supporter of the Diaz Administration, and

Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. He contended that "it is very poor policy, very injudicious to establish within our country a powerful American company; . . . we should always fear the United States"; and he said the contract should be rejected because it was "a danger for the independence and the future of the country." The climax of his argument was the following metaphor: "Go and propose to the lion of the desert to exchange his cave of rocks for a golden cage, and the lion of the desert will reply to you with a roar of liberty."

It is due to Señor Chavero and his associates of the Congress which refused to approve the contract to say that their action was taken at the time which I have described, when the country was in a frenzy of excitement over the Rio Grande troubles and the supposed hostile attitude of the Government of the United States. He lived to make frequent visits over the railroads to the United States, with whose people and authorities he established a most cordial friendship. With the restoration of amicable relations and good will between the two Governments, the opposition to international railroad communication ceased, and in 1880 contracts were made with American companies which have resulted in the present system of lines between the two Republics.

These lines have contributed greatly towards the solution of the commercial questions. Since their construction two unsuccessful efforts have been made to negotiate reciprocity treaties. In 1883 General Grant and Mr. Trescot, on the part of the United States, and Minister Romero, for Mexico, negotiated such a treaty, which was ratified by the Senate and proclaimed by the President; but owing to the opposition of specially protected interests in our country, it was never possible to secure the legislation of Congress to put it into operation. In 1891 I was empowered by President Harrison to negotiate a reciprocity arrangement with Mexico

under the McKinley Tariff of 1890, but the same interests which defeated the Grant-Romero Treaty stood in the way of any satisfactory agreement. The establishment and multiplication of international railroad communications has largely supplanted the need of reciprocity treaties, as they more than any other one influence have revolutionized the commercial conditions and given to the United States its present great predominance in the trade of Mexico, which both in exports and imports is larger than that of all other countries combined, and many times greater than that of the next leading foreign country.

Diplomatic questions were not the only ones which occupied my attention during my residence in Mexico, and I found the leisure and opportunity to study other subjects of more or less public importance. I took a special interest in the cultivation of coffee, to which a large area of the country is well adapted, and I sought to learn why it had not assumed greater proportions as an article of export. I visited Vera Cruz, Michoacan, and Colima, the States where it is most grown, in pursuit of my inquiries, and I sent a report of my investigation to my Government, which was published in the reports of the Department of Agriculture and as a Congressional Document, reproduced by the press, and translated and published with favorable comments in Mexico.

I also made a report upon wheat cultivation. The staple product for the bread of the country is Indian corn or maize, which is grown in all parts of the Republic, but a considerable portion of the tablelands is adapted to the cultivation of wheat. Agriculture there in my day was followed after the most primitive methods and with rudimentary implements. Some of the more enterprising *hacendados* (planters) were seeking to increase the acreage of wheat cultivation and to introduce American machinery and implements. I visited some of the *haciendas,* and made a report on the subject, which attracted considerable attention in the United States.

It may be remarked in passing that the railroad system has been a real blessing from an agricultural standpoint. The great *mesa*, or tableland, is dependent for its supply of food products on the annual rainfall. Since the Spanish Conquest there have been repeated famines, in which tens of thousands of people have perished. At other times there were productive years of such superabundance that the food products could not be sold and the *hacendados* were nearly ruined. There are no navigable rivers in Mexico and the mountainous character of the country made transportation difficult and costly. Hence there was often abundance in one section and famine in another. The railroads have been a great relief in these respects and have made famines impossible.

Among my other studies, I was called upon by the American Social Science Association for a report on the judiciary and bar of Mexico. Its judicial, like its political, system is very similar to that of the United States. The members of the Supreme Court, however, are elected by popular vote, for a period of six years. The President of the Supreme Court was made by the Constitution *ex-officio* Vice-President of the nation, but the experience of General Diaz with Señor Iglesias in 1876, which I have related in my account of his revolution, led to a change in this respect. The subordinate Federal judges are appointed by the President. There is, as in the United States, only one class of lawyers. The bar of the Capital are all educated men; after their collegiate studies, they are required to pursue a six-years' course in the National School of Law before they enter upon the practice; and a similar course is followed in the States. The Supreme Court commands high respect throughout the country. With its members and with the bar of the Capital I had much social intercourse, and I found them relatively of as high character as the profession in the United States.

I made a thorough study of the Mexican foreign debt, which seemed to be at that time in hopeless confusion, and

I sent two lengthy reports to Washington on the subject, which were published. The chief indebtedness had been contracted in London as early as 1823, to which there had been added from time to time various kinds of indebtedness in France, Spain, and the United States. The history of these foreign debts was one of brief intervals of interest payments, brought about by spasmodic efforts to reëstablish its lost credit or by the constraint of some foreign Power, and succeeding these intervals long periods of suspended payments and wrangles with the creditors, resulting in new arrangements and funding of accumulated interest, and these new arrangements soon followed by new suspensions of interest payments. Most of these suspensions and failures are directly traceable to the disorders and bankruptcy of the Treasury occasioned by repeated revolutions, rather than to the deliberate bad faith of the Government. It was the public indebtedness which afforded the pretext for the tripartite intervention of 1861 leading to the Maximilian Empire.

When Diaz assumed control of affairs, the financial situation of the country could hardly have been more desperate. No interest on its public debt had been paid for many years. Its bonds had no value at home or abroad, and were not quoted in the money-market of a single city of the world. But the financial improvement which Diaz inaugurated soon began to create confidence among foreign capitalists, and the rapidly growing revenues finally enabled Señor Limantour, the able Secretary of Finance, to reëstablish the Government credit. The foreign indebtedness of every character, whose legitimacy could be shown, was funded, first into gold bonds at six per cent, afterwards at five per cent, and later at four per cent, until the credit of Mexico became equal to that of some of the first Powers of Europe and much above that of any other of the Latin-American Republics.

My action on subjects of an unofficial character, which attracted most attention both in the United States and Mexico,

was a letter which I addressed to the president of a manufacturers' association of Chicago. It was before this body that Minister Zamacona delivered the address to which I have referred, and which was understood to be an appeal to the American people from the policy then being pursued by our Government. I had been invited to give them any views I might have gained during my residence in Mexico respecting the development of commercial relations between the two countries. In the letter I discussed especially the impediments to such freer relations, which I found in the revolutionary character of the country, the want of protection to American citizens and capital, and the opposition manifested to railroad connection with the United States.

My letter was sent to the Department of State, with request that, if approved by the Secretary of State, it be forwarded to the association, which was done. It was published in full in the Chicago papers, was reproduced in the annual volume of diplomatic correspondence, and by resolution of Congress it was printed as a public document. It thus had a wide circulation in the United States and was commended or criticised according to the views entertained as to the Mexican policy of our Government.

It reached Mexico at a time when the political excitement against the United States was at its height, and the criticism of the press was almost universally unfavorable. So much importance was attached to it by the Government that Señor Matias Romero was employed to write a refutation, sections of which appeared daily for several weeks in the "Official Journal," and it was printed in book-form, filling three hundred and fifty double-column full folio pages. It was an able document, abounding in valuable statistics, but lost much of its usefulness for the purpose of its compilation by its prolixity. Señor Romero's indefatigable industry and minuteness in details is illustrated by a remark made to me by Señor Mariscal, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in one of

my visits in later years to Mexico. The Government was having a Legation building erected in Washington, and he asked me how the building was progressing, remarking that he hoped it was near completion, as the volumes and tons of dispatches Señor Romero was sending him respecting it were sufficient to construct the building with the paper used!

In spite of all our prognostications as to commercial matters, based upon the past and then existing conditions, President Diaz was able, through his successful administration of affairs, to accomplish that which at that time seemed hopeless. He gave the country a long era of peace and order. He forced Congress to grant liberal concessions for railroads connecting with the United States. He established protection and security to life and property. He restored public confidence. He brought about a great development of the resources of the country. Under his régime, commerce, internal and foreign, flourished beyond the dream of the most hopeful.

Various other duties and experiences in addition to those herein related are a part of a diplomat's life. Marriages were occasionally celebrated in our Legation in Mexico. It adds nothing to the legality or binding force of the union to have the ceremony performed in a Legation. It is just as valid if it takes place in a residence or hotel, but in the minds of enchanted lovers it gives to the act an air of romance and patriotism. One of the most noted of these during my incumbency was the marriage of the son of Charles Kingsley, the well-known divine and author, who came to Mexico in quest of adventure and a fortune, and met his fate in the person of an attractive and accomplished young American woman temporarily residing in the Capital. The event brought together around the Legation table a large company of the American and British colonies to witness the ceremony and drink to the health and blessing of the happy pair.

The private claims and demands of American citizens for the services or aid of their country's representative is more

or less frequent in all our embassies and legations abroad, but in few of them are the calls more numerous than in Mexico. I made it a rule to answer all letters and give attention to all such calls so far as I could do so consistently with my official duties. In order to give some idea of the peculiar and strange nature which sometimes characterizes these calls I give a textual copy of a letter received by me, as follows: —

DENVER COLORADO, Aug. 11th '78.

John W. Foster
U S Minister
Dear Sir

I have Some thing to tell you which May interest you Some as there is quite a Sum of Money in it or at least I think there is My reason for thinking so are this in 1849 there was two Soldiers of our Army then in Old Mexico that got hold of about $65,000 in order to keep it they Buryed it the next morning after So their Regiment was ordered to Very Cruz there they took the Steamer for New Orleans on Board the Steamer one of the parties died the other was taken North to Indiana there mustered out and as he lived in that State he thought he would go home before he went Back after his money when he got home he found his wife Sick She lingered a long Some time and finally died leaving him with a little family on his hands with not Much to do with he could not leave very well then to go after this so he kept putting it off until finaly our last war Broke out he thin enlisted with the Calculation of getting South thin going for his pile but before he could well do as he expected he was taken sick and died I waited on him a good deal during his Sickness and just before he died he told Me all about this giving me the exact locality of the Money and telling me to go and get it as he Never would want it well when our war closed the troubles commenced then between the French and Mexicans So I thought I would wait for More Settled times I have kept

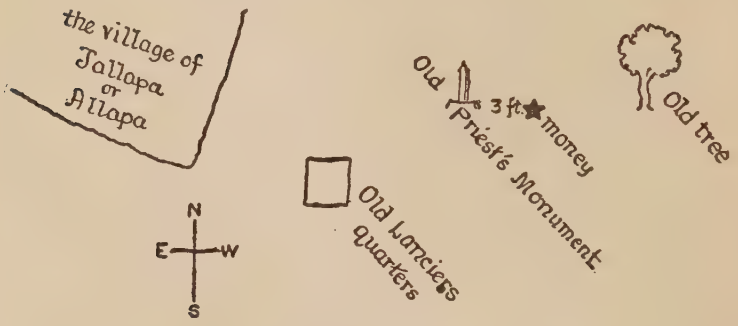
putting it off for one reason and another until Now and Now I have not the Money to go with so I send you the Exact locality of where it is as he gave it to me trusting that if you get it you will be honerable enough to divide with Me

hoping that I May hear from you Soon as convenient

I am with Respect

Yours &c

p. s. the Money is in Gold mostly



this the Exact location as he gave it to me it will do no harm to see if it is as he said the Money will belong to who ever finds it as there is no one Now that knows who it Belonged to before it was Buried Now I trust to your honor to deal on the squaire with me . . . . . .

Although this alleged buried treasure, if it existed, must have been the loot of American soldiers, I decided to ascertain if it could be located. To this end I sent the letter to a reputable American citizen living at Jalapa, which was evidently the locality intended to be described. In due time he reported to me that he had made an effort to find the place indicated in the letter, but that it was impossible to do so, as with the long lapse of time the ancient landmarks had all been changed. I so advised the writer of the letter.

The American Consuls in Mexico were as a rule a creditable body of men, attentive to their duties and patriotic representatives of their country. During my seven years' residence I only once had occasion to recommend to the Department a change. The chief consular post in those days was the port of Vera Cruz, and it was filled by Dr. S. T. Trowbridge, who had an honorable record of service in the Civil War and was an estimable gentleman. He had an interesting family of six children, one son and five daughters. They were all musically inclined, each one of them playing some instrument, and the Consulate was thus a merry meeting-place for Americans.

Dr. Trowbridge, for the diversion of his children, purchased a private printing-press and its equipment of type, etc. They issued at odd times a paper called "Leisure Hours." He wrote a sketch of his life, which was all set up, printed, and bound in his house by his daughters, and made quite a respectable volume. He claimed that such work was a good education for his girls in a locality where there were no English schools.

The leading industry of Mexico has been for centuries and still continues to be silver-mining. From it the great fortunes of the country were accumulated. In my time it was even more than to-day the absorbing interest of the country. Almost everybody made investments or ventures in mines. My diplomatic colleagues without exception dabbled in these stocks, and mining was a favorite topic of conversation in our circle. I felt it my duty, however, to abstain absolutely from having any pecuniary interest in the business. There were a considerable number of Americans engaged in different parts of the country in mining, and they were frequently making complaints to me of their treatment by the officials and submitting to me questions as to their property rights. I was in a much better position to aid them when it was known that I had no pecuniary interest whatever in the industry. It is a

safe rule for a diplomatic representative to have no interests of any business character whatever in the country of his residence, and to avoid personal complications in the claims of his fellow countrymen.

The wisdom of such a course for a diplomat had a striking illustration in those days in the case of General Schenck, the American Minister in London, who allowed the use of his name for the prospectus of the "Emma" mine, an American project, in which many Englishmen invested, partly on the strength of General Schenck's name. The mine proved a disgraceful failure. Schenck was a man of incorruptible integrity and no one charged him with complicity with the management, but his reputation suffered greatly for the indiscretion of allowing the use of his name in connection with the mine.

CHAPTER XI

A VISIT TO THE INTERIOR MEXICAN STATES

During the last year of my residence in Mexico I made a long journey through the interior and some of the Pacific States. I had already visited all the States within easy reach of the Capital and even some of the more distant ones, including Michoacan, Guerrero, and Oaxaca, and had established quite a reputation as a traveler. But I desired to become better acquainted with the people and resources of the States seldom visited by tourists and little affected by intercourse with the outside world.

In my day the only methods of reaching them were by the diligence — the old-fashioned "Concord" stage-coach — and on horseback, and much of the journey by the latter mode. The inconveniences and discomforts of the way were pictured to me in the darkest colors, and few of my friends encouraged me in the undertaking, but my experience in travel through the country satisfied me that the hardships were usually exaggerated. The Federal Government expressed gratification at my project and volunteered all needed protection. And so, well supplied with letters of credit and introduction for the towns and cities en route, I began my journey on September 26. I planned my departure for this date, as the rainy season was just drawing to a close, the roads would be drying out, and vegetation would be fresh and exuberant.

I can best describe my experiences by giving extracts from my letters to my wife, written on the way while these experiences were fresh in mind. From Queretaro at the end of the second day of the journey, I wrote: —

After taking the diligence yesterday morning my first business was to make the acquaintance of my traveling companions. Fortunately they all proved to be respectable persons. First, there was a *padre,* belonging to the Profesa Church in Mexico, taking a trip into the interior; a fat, jolly fellow, talkative, a good traveling companion, and we were soon quite good friends. Then there was a merchant of Guanajuato, returning from buying goods, a pleasant, intelligent Mexican, his grandmother an Englishwoman. Lastly an *hacendado* with his family of five persons, two of them ladies. He gave me much information about farming matters. Before we had gone far the ladies asked permission to light their cigarettes, and then all my companions were puffing away. Although I give my fellow passengers a creditable description, when I tell you that every one of them used the tablecloth at meals, although we had napkins, you may not think so highly of their refinement! . . .

The diligence has been well guarded all the way by *rurales* [mounted soldiers], and as we crossed the line into the State of Queretaro, I was met by an officer with a message of welcome from the Governor; so you may be assured I shall be taken care of. For a considerable part of the time I have ridden on the *pescante* [an outside seat above the driver], and enjoyed the delicious air and the beautiful scenery. As we entered this city just as the sun was setting over the valley, the view was charming.

Every attention has been paid me during my one day's stay here. On my arrival a committee received me with a message from the Governor, inviting me to lodge at his house, from which I excused myself with the best grace possible. In the morning the Governor's coach was at the door for my visits, and in the afternoon he accompanied me to see the various public institutions, and after visiting a number of these, where do you suppose we brought up? At the *plaza de toros,* where a bull-fight was in full progress; but I must

claim credit for staying only to see one bull killed, and was glad to get away.

At the end of the fourth day of travel, I wrote from Guanajuato: —

I have been agreeably disappointed in the comforts I have found on the road. The meals have all been good, and I have had every night a clean and comfortable bed. Starting very early in the morning and traveling sometimes till 10 P.M., the diligence becomes a little wearisome, but changing from the inside to the *pescante* at will the monotony is broken. Much of the journey has been through the *Bajio*, one of the richest agricultural valleys in Mexico, and since the rain it has on its most beautiful dress. . . .

On my arrival here I was greatly embarrassed by pressing invitations from the Governor and from three or four merchants and mining proprietors, to whom I had letters, to become their guest, but I preferred the hotel, where I would be free to see all kinds of people. My first "swell" dinner was at the house of ——. According to your direction, I wore my dress-suit, and was the only one of the company who did! But as it was given in my honor, and, coming from the Capital, I suppose it was not out of place. The seating was a little queer. The host took the head of the table, placed his wife on his right, me on his left, and the Governor next to his wife. When I returned to the hotel I found a second note from Mrs. P., asking me to tea this evening at six. But as I knew what "a tea" means in this country, I answered that as I had to go to the Governor's to dine at one, I hoped she would give me only a cup of tea. Four dinners in two days I feared were too much for me. Among my visits I called on the American Protestant missionary here, who had come to see me at the Legation in Mexico. His wife, a very nice lady, is almost isolated socially. She tells me she has no female companions or visiting acquaintances. The work goes on slowly.

The visit to Guanajuato was of great interest, with its unique location in the narrow valley, and the study of the mines and the attentions of the Governor and other residents made my stay a busy and profitable one. At the large city of Leon similar attentions were extended. The next important place at which I made a halt was Guadalajara. From the first letter from that city I make some extracts as to experiences by the way: —

Passing Silao, the military commander, with a dozen medals of honor on his breast, and the *jefe politico* [the mayor] were on hand to pay me their respects and receive my orders. But as the diligence only stopped to change mules, I had no orders to give. . . .

At Lagos the *jefe politico* had given the landlord notice to prepare me the best room in the house, and when I came to pay my bill the landlord declined to receive the money, saying it was to be settled by the *jefe*, but I insisted and made him take the money. I don't want the Mexican Government to pay my traveling expenses. . . .

As I crossed the line into the State of Jalisco I began to see the effects of my friendship with Vallarta [Diaz' first Secretary of Foreign Affairs]. This is his *pais* [country], and he has evidently given notice of my coming, as the attentions on the way here have been almost overpowering. At the first town we passed I was given quite an ovation, being met at the outskirts by the officials with a band of music and escorted into town with all the church-bells ringing, a great noise of fireworks, and the whole population out to see *el estranjero* [the foreigner]. Fortunately we had only to remain long enough for the relay of mules, and I was glad to get away from the din of the bells and fireworks, the gaze of the people, and the attentions of the officials, however well meant. At another town where I underwent a similar reception, and while the relay was being made ready, one of my

fellow passengers stepped into a shop for a *refresco,* and he was asked by the proprietor which of us was the Archbishop. He naturally thought all that bell-ringing of the churches could be for no other than the greatest personage of the hierarchy. Had he known what a heretic he was in whose honor all this noise was raised, doubtless his disgust would have been great! . . .

The night before my arrival in Guadalajara I received a telegram from Mr. Newton, the leading American citizen, stating that the American residents desired to meet me outside the city, and that he had rooms prepared for me at his house; and asking to be informed of the probable hour of my arrival. I answered that we would probably arrive late at night, not to wait for me, but for my countrymen to call on me the next morning. It proved one of the hardest days of all my journey. I was called at 3 A.M. and in one of the towns at 9 A.M. I had to undergo an official reception and a formal breakfast, with toasts and speeches, which delayed us. The road was bad and we made slow progress; besides, the diligence had been robbed two weeks before and two passengers killed, which led the State and Federal authorities to cumber us with a heavy guard. Thus it was that we did not reach San Pedro, a town one league from Guadalajara, till after 11 P.M., and what was my surprise to find the *plaza* illuminated, a long row of carriages waiting, and not only the entire American colony out, but also the Governor of the State, the general of the Federal forces, the President of the Supreme Court, municipal authorities, etc.

Tired and dusty and sleepy as I was, I could not but feel (notwithstanding the compliment, which I highly appreciated) that they were a great set of fools to be engaged in that kind of business at that time of the night; and I would much rather have gone quietly to the hotel, and met them all the next morning, after a bath, a change of clothes, and a breakfast. Nothing would do but I must change from the diligence

to the open carriage and drive into the city with the Governor, the General, and the President of the Court. The authorities had prepared a house for me, to which the Governor proposed to take me at once, but I begged off in the best manner I could, on the ground that I had accepted Mr. Newton's hospitality, which he had arranged for me. Much as I appreciate all their attentions, I prefer not to be captured by the Mexican authorities. With all the delays, receptions, etc., it was two o'clock in the morning before I got to bed, twenty-three hours since I left it. But I am up this morning early, fresh as ever, and writing you of my doings.

My four days in Guadalajara were very busy and interesting ones. It was, next to the City of Mexico, the most important one in the Republic, and the capital of the most powerful State. On the eve of my departure from it, I wrote:—

Much of my time here has been taken up in visiting the public institutions, which are more numerous and creditable than in any other place on my journey. I have just returned from a round of such inspection accompanied by the Governor. One of the most important of these is the Alcalde Asylum, named after the bishop who founded it at the beginning of this century. It embraces an orphanage, a hospital, a school for poor boys and girls, old women's home, etc., is very extensive, has twenty-two *patios* or courts, and is the best maintained institution I have seen in Mexico. This bishop has done an immense good in this State, and his work is a shining evidence that the Catholic clergy were not all greedy of power and riches. . . .

I may have mentioned in my letters from Leon that it has struck me as rather strange that in each of these two important cities of the interior, as well as in Guanajuato, the city government was engaged in building a magnificent theatre,

spending hundreds of thousands of dollars, while not one of them, so far as I saw, had a decent public common-school building. I did not think it courteous to tell them, though desiring to do so, that in our country the best public buildings were the school-houses, and that we left the erection of theatres to private enterprise and companies. . . .

To-day was the official dinner given me by the Governor, and it proved the most elegant entertainment yet tendered. The Governor called for me in his carriage and drove me to the house which had been fitted up for my entertainment and which I declined. It is quite a palatial establishment and here the dinner was given. . . . As usual there were many toasts and speeches complimentary of our country and its representative. I got off the same speech which I delivered at Guanajuato, with slight modifications to suit the locality. It is the one, you remember, which I prepared before leaving Mexico and had put into pure Castilian. By the time I reach Mazatlan I think I shall be able to recite it quite glibly! It greatly pleases the Mexicans to hear me praise them in their own tongue. My speech reminds me of the joke told on Nelson [my predecessor]. He prepared a pretty good campaign speech, which he delivered everywhere in Indiana without any variation. In Washington after the campaign, when pressing for an office, he was boasting that he had delivered 135 speeches in Indiana during the campaign. One of his friends, interrupting, said, "No, Tom, you mean you delivered one speech 135 times!" . . .

I have never been better received than here by everybody and leave with the most agreeable impressions. The American colony is small, but quite respectable, and they have been very attentive to me. They have been so much pleased with my visit that it has been worth the journey to gratify them. I made it a point to call upon all the American ladies, including the wives of the missionaries of the American Board, — very intelligent persons. I fear they have a lonesome time,

with very little sympathy on the part of the other American residents.

Colima, October 16. I am safely here after a three and a half days' journey from Guadalajara, much of it on horseback, as we had a good deal of mountain climbing and four *barrancas* to cross. The incidents of the way were much the same as that before reaching Guadalajara — breakfasts or dinners at every large town, with ringing of bells and fireworks, and kind treatment everywhere. . . . Our views of the volcano of Colima were very attractive. It was not in active eruption as it is sometimes, but from time to time there was a sudden rushing-up of a dense volume of smoke lasting only for a few minutes in force, and followed by a small stream, like that issuing from a chimney, till it ceased altogether, but the black cloud would hang over the mountain for an hour or more. . . .

On arrival here I find I have to limit my stay to one day, as otherwise I run the risk of missing the mail steamer up the coast. The Governor seemed much distressed at the unexpected shortness of my stay, as he had hoped to tender me a banquet, and in lieu of it invited me *to take a cup of tea* in the gubernatorial palace, which turned out to be quite a grand supper for thirty of the leading officials and citizens, with the usual toasts and speech-making.

Manzanillo, October 18. Here I am at last on the Pacific Ocean, after three weeks of absence from the Legation and family.

The journey yesterday was partly by land and partly by water. The first, eighteen leagues, was made in a light spring-wagon, with Mr. Morrill, the Consul, as a companion. At the lake or lagoon, I was met by Mr. Dickman, the Vice-Consul, with a boat flying a small American flag, a pleasant sight after my long land travel.

At 5.30 P.M. we started on the lake. The sun was just dropping behind the hills which separate the lake from the

ocean, a fine breeze was blowing, and the smooth, swift motion of the boat was very delightful after the rough jolting in the diligence and my horseback ride across the *barrancas*. The distance was thirty-five miles, and with four oarsmen we made the run in a little less than five hours. It was surprising to see the rowers keep up their work for five hours, making seven miles an hour, without a moment's interruption, except two or three times to take a dram of *tequila* or light a cigar, a matter of less than a minute.

After we had got well out in the lake, Mr. Dickman produced a basket of lunch, — ham, cheese, beer, crackers and apples, — all from California, and I partook of them with a relish. When I grew tired of the enchanting tropical scenery, subdued by the shades of night faintly illuminated by clear starlight and the new moon, a bed was arranged for me in the stern of the boat, where I slept for three hours within three inches of the water, gently rocked by the motion of the oars. On arrival I found comfortable quarters awaiting me in the house of Mr. Dickman, one of the few good ones here, my room facing the bay, with a gentle breeze sweeping through it to temper the heat, which has been somewhat oppressive after my journeying on the tableland and in the mountains. . . .

I was much pleased with Mr. and Mrs. Morrill. Mr. M. I highly respect, especially for his consistent Christian life in this land where all the influences tend to neglect of duty or to the Catholic Church. He was raised by Free-Will Baptist parents till he left home at fifteen, but never was a church member. He has read prayers, however, in his family every Sunday morning since he has been in Mexico, — nineteen years, — and, as he says, has tried to live a Christian life. He is now beginning to see its results. As there was no Protestant minister in this part of the country, his children were baptized by the Catholic priests. Since they have grown up he has sent them to California to school, and one by one they

have of their own accord joined Protestant churches there. He spoke very feelingly of their profession of faith. It is about the only bright spot religiously I have seen among the American or foreign families of the Protestant faith since I left the Capital. They are usually cases of indifference or of joining the Catholic Church, to marry their wives or for business considerations.

Mazatlan, October 24. I came up here on the Pacific mail steamer, and was so heartily received and entertained by all the officers of the ship and passengers, with its American comforts and ways, I felt as if I was back in my own country again. I was met here as the ship anchored by our Consul and by Mr. Kelly, who (you remember) visited us in Mexico. His firm is one of the oldest English establishments here, and he insisted on taking me at once to his house, where I am very comfortably, even luxuriously, cared for. I expect to take a trip of three days with him in the morning to the Rosario mining district.

October 27. On our return this morning from the mines, I found the whole town in a great state of excitement. Night before last a small band of *pronunciados* [revolutionists] made an assault on this city and nearly succeeded in capturing it. A General Ramirez, who had been one of the leading Diaz chiefs, had become dissatisfied and had gathered the force which attacked this town. Had he been successful it would have given him the most important seaport on the Pacific, with one gunboat and two steam tugs, and a full-blown revolution would have been in progress.

Knowing I had planned to continue my travels in the morning, the general in command of the Federal forces called on me to say he did not think it prudent for me to start for Durango, as he had advices that a strong band of *pronunciados* were encamped eight or ten leagues from the city near the road I had to pass; that the small force of cavalry he had in the city was not a sufficient escort for me; that he had or-

dered all the cavalry in the district to concentrate here; and that in four or five days he would have a sufficient force to take me through in safety.

I, however, expressed a willingness to go alone without an escort, against which he strongly protested; but I told him I would free him and the Mexican Government from all responsibility, and take the risk upon myself. I did not want to lose the time, and, besides, if there was to be any fighting I preferred not to be about when it was going on. So I am preparing to leave in the morning for my long trip of seven or eight days across the great Sierra Madre Range to Durango.

La Ciudad, November 1. We have at last reached the top of the Sierra Madre, nine thousand feet above the sea, and are taking a day's rest. I was fortunate in finding at Mazatlan a pleasant traveling companion in Captain L., a Norwegian who has been commanding one of the Mexican gunboats and is under orders to report himself at the Capital. He speaks English and Spanish, and has relieved me of much of the trouble about lodgings, meals, etc. In leaving Mazatlan we came fourteen leagues in a country hack, and then took to our mules. Each of us had a riding-mule, a pack-mule, and two mounted servants. We had been told we should find no provisions on the road and we took along quite a supply. For lodgings at night we found only a kind of cot, which is a frame set on four legs or posts, covered with strips of raw-hide, with no covering or pillows; and we slept outdoors or under a thatched-roof shed, but as the climate was warm we did not suffer, our shawls answering for cover and our over-coats for pillows. We found nothing on the road in the way of food but *frijoles* and *tortillas*, sometimes not even those, and only once did we succeed in getting a chicken; but with the tea, coffee, and provisions we brought with us we fared very well.

The route is the roughest and most difficult I have ever traveled over, almost constantly up and down mountains of

the steepest grade, and the Mazatlan River to ford about a dozen times, with a deep, swift current, and always in fear of getting a ducking. One day we were caught in a heavy rainstorm (the first I have had since I left Mexico), which so swelled the river we had to wait till the next morning to cross. The road is no road at all, merely a path wide enough for one mule, and at times altogether lost. Often the path was so narrow and the declivity so precipitous that I would gladly have dismounted, but the guides say that a mule is much surer-footed than a man in such places.

The scenery is magnificent beyond description. I think in this respect I have enjoyed the trip more than any other I have made. The Sierra Madre here is composed of a series of mountain ranges, up and down which we have to go, each succeeding one higher than the other, till we reach the summit, every succeeding mountain-top revealing a higher and different view. Such mountain ranges and broken valleys I have never seen before.

Mr. A., at whose ranch we are stopping, is a Virginian who went to California many years ago, and came to this out-of-the-way place in 1862, where he has lived ever since, with varying fortune. He is now engaged in mining and owns a farm just on the top of the mountains where we reach the tablelands. Having heard of my coming, he came down the mountain-side a half-day's journey to meet and accompany me to his house, where he has given me a hearty welcome. Last night after our arrival he gave us, among other good things, corned-beef, American corn-bread, plenty of fresh milk, and the best of butter — real delicacies after our mountain experience. It is quite cold here at night, being so much higher and further north than Mexico City. Sitting about a wide-open fireplace, with large blazing pine logs last night, took me back to old times in Indiana.

My travel through the country is giving me more insight than I have ever had before into the wretched state of society

and morals in these secluded parts of the country. With the lower classes it is a common occurrence for the parents of a pretty girl to sell her to some rich man, and after he tires of her she may be taken up by a man of a lower class, or lead a worse life. It is not unusual for army officers, especially in revolutionary times, in their marches through the country to carry off with them by force any attractive girl or woman of the lower classes to whom they may chance to take a fancy. The state of morals among them and regard for matrimonial relations are most wretched; and with even the upper classes it is bad enough. The people of the ranch had a *fandango,* or ball, last night, and we were invited over to it. For the first time I saw the *jarabe* danced — a not very seemly affair.

The journey was resumed the next morning, and the day before we reached Durango we were met by an officer representing the Governor with a cavalry escort, the trip across the mountains from Mazatlan being the only time I have been without a military guard. At Durango I had much the same experience as at the other State Capitals visited; cordial hospitality from the authorities and citizens; examination of the public institutions; a formal banquet by the Governor; and meeting some old friends and making many pleasant new acquaintances. Of my departure for Zacatecas, and the scenes en route, I wrote: —

I was to leave Durango in the diligence at 2 o'clock A.M. and my host, Mr. M., arranged a pleasant whist-party to pass the time, with an elegant supper after midnight. It was a long and tiresome ride of thirty-eight leagues to a prettily situated town with the Indian name of Chalchihuites. I was met a league outside of the town by the authorities and a great concourse of citizens in carriages and on horseback, taken from the diligence, and escorted into town by the

whole company headed by a military band, after having received an artillery salute. I was lodged at the principal private house in the town, where a formal dinner followed, with the customary toasts and speeches. During the progress of the dinner I learned that it had been arranged to give a ball in my honor after the dinner. As I had not slept any the night before, had made such an unusually long journey that day, and had to start the next morning at five, this extreme of hospitality was beyond my endurance, so I escaped the ball by showing myself in the room after dinner, and then retiring.

I found here two very agreeable and intelligent American families, who manifested great pleasure in seeing me. One of them has resided here since the war of 1848. It has been one of the most pleasing incidents of my tour through the country that it has apparently afforded so much gratification to the American residents. No Minister has ever before visited their localities, and besides forming my personal acquaintance, it has been a source of pride to them to see their country so heartily recognized by the Mexican authorities. . . .

The State of Zacatecas has outdone all the others thus far in the attentions and demonstrations in my behalf. I suppose the Governor has heard of my reception in the other towns and cities, and his State pride is awakened. Certainly my reception all along the route was most cordial. At one of the towns, after the usual reception and dinner, the *jefe politico* suggested that as a matter of health, before going to bed, it might be well to take a turn in the *plaza*, when much to my surprise I found it brilliantly illuminated, including the church walls and tower and all the buildings around the square. The band was discoursing music, and the whole population was out to see *Su Excelencia el Señor Ministro Americano*. The diligence left at 3 A.M. the next day, as it was a long journey, so I was up at 2.30 A.M. when I found

the prominent citizens were on hand to take chocolate with me and say good-bye. The *plaza* was still illuminated. Whether they had kept it going all night, or it was relighted for my departure, I did not learn!

It would become tedious if I continued the extracts from my letters, giving details of the remainder of my tour. Four days were spent in Zacatecas, with abounding hospitality and honors and in examining that great mining-centre. Thence I passed on to San Luis Potosi, where equal attentions were shown me. In this city I accepted the hospitality of the house that had been prepared by the authorities for my lodgment, making it an exception to my action in other State Capitals for reasons not necessary to explain. From there I turned again northward to Saltillo, the Capital of Coahuila; thence to Monterey, the seat of the government of Nuevo Leon; and at last reached Matamoros, on the Texas frontier, near the mouth of the Rio Grande del Bravo. In all these cities and at the towns en route the same unvarying hospitality and cordial expression of feeling for our country were extended to me.

At Matamoros I met General Ord, an old acquaintance of the Civil War, commander of the Department of Texas, the man who had been the cause of so much indignation on the part of the Mexicans in the past two years because of the occasional crossing of his troops into Mexico in pursuit of raiders or outlaws. The feeling of hostility apparently had died away, as he attended the festivities given in my honor by the Mexican authorities and was warmly welcomed. The General was then on a visit to the garrison of Fort Brown, and the citizens of Brownsville, Texas, gave a dinner in our joint honor, followed by a ball at Fort Brown.

As there were then no regular passenger steamers touching at the mouth of the Rio Grande for Vera Cruz, the Mexican Government did me the honor to send one of its gunboats to

bring me from Matamoros to that port. I thus completed my tour of about three thousand miles, occupying nearly three months, without any serious delay or unpleasant experience. Soon after reaching the Capital, President Diaz invited me to a dinner in the National Palace, at which there were present the Diplomatic Corps, the Cabinet, and other high officials, and I had the opportunity, in response to the toast of the President, to make public acknowledgment of the courtesies received from the various authorities and citizens.

My excursion was such an unusual one that I gained quite a reputation as a traveler, and my return was the occasion of many notices in the press. The following is an extract from one of the leading papers: —

"The tour of Minister Foster through the Republic of Mexico possesses an interest in several respects. No other foreign diplomat ever made a similar tour, and very few tourists, if any, have ever traveled over such an extent of territory, visited so many cities and towns, and none have been in such intimate communication with the people or had such intimate intercourse with all classes of Mexican society. With previous excursions, this grand tour makes Mr. Foster one of the best informed persons in Mexican affairs, having visited nearly every State in the Republic.

"His reception in every locality which he visited shows the high respect in which he is held throughout the country and the desire to cultivate friendly relations with the United States. It was very gratifying to the Mexicans to have him respond to the various addresses and in his social intercourse with the people, in their own language."

CHAPTER XII

FROM MEXICO TO RUSSIA

A FEW weeks after my return to the Capital from the excursion into the interior Mexican States, intimations reached the city by telegraph that I was to be transferred to the Russian Mission, and on January 19, 1880, President Hayes nominated me to that post. My name was sent to the Senate at the same time that James Russell Lowell was nominated for transfer from Madrid to London, and other important diplomatic changes were made. The appointment came to me as a surprise, as I had made no application for it, and did not know that my promotion to a higher post was contemplated by the Secretary of State or the President.

General U. S. Grant, who had made his tour of the world, was then about to visit Mexico as the guest of the Mexican Government, and I felt that it was my duty to remain at my post at least until his arrival in the country, and see that he was properly introduced to the authorities. Accordingly I suggested to the Department of State that it would be well for me to delay my departure, and I promptly received its approval of my suggestion, with permission to remain as long as I should think best.

General Grant was recognized in Mexico as one of its best friends. During the French intervention his sympathies were strongly enlisted on the side of Juarez and the republicans, and at the close of our Civil War he was greatly disappointed that he was not permitted to march an army into Mexico, and, in conjunction with that of Juarez, dethrone Maximilian and expel the French soldiers. It was better for us as well as the Mexicans that the more peaceful but equally effective

method of Secretary Seward's diplomacy should accomplish this result, but the Mexicans knew of General Grant's sympathies and wishes and felt grateful for them. Also as President he had always treated Mexican questions with justice, even with partiality.

The Diaz Government had kept informed of the marked honors which had been bestowed upon the General during his tour of the world, and it resolved that his reception in Mexico should not fall below the most distinguished of them. I met him at Vera Cruz and accompanied him to the Capital, being of such service as I could in the various receptions tendered him on the way. In his party were Mrs. Grant, General and Mrs. Phil. Sheridan, Colonel and Mrs. Frederick Grant, a secretary, and one or two other friends. The Government had taken one of the most commodious and stately of the public buildings and furnished it in appropriate and costly style, and this edifice with all necessary equipment was made their home during their stay of several weeks in the Capital.

Every attention which it was possible for them to receive was showered upon the General and his party by the Government and society. Among the most notable of these was the dinner in his honor tendered by the American residents of the Capital. General Grant's speech on the occasion was so characteristic for its simplicity and brevity that I give it in full. He spoke as follows: —

"Citizens of the United States and neighbors of Mexico: I am very glad to meet you here and see the good feeling that exists between men of the two greatest republics on this continent. I hope it may be emblematical of the perpetual peace that may exist between us. I trust that we may be a benefit to each other as we may well be.

"I think I speak the sentiments of the great mass of my own people when I say that we only wish prosperity to this country and that Mexico may improve, as she is capable of

doing, and grow great; that she may become our rival and move along, side by side with us. We have no jealousy, but are willing to be taught as well as to teach."

I remained at my post until General Grant had completed his visit in the country, and we returned together in the same steamer to the United States.

My farewell to Mexico was of the most cordial and feeling character. My family and I were the recipients of many demonstrations of esteem and friendship from all classes of society, both official and private. Farewell dinners were extended to us by the President of the Republic, members of the Cabinet, and the Diplomatic Corps, and by our friends of Mexican and foreign circles.

Not the least gratifying of these was the demonstration of my fellow countrymen timed to occur on my forty-fourth birthday, and in which was combined a farewell reception, ball, and supper, attended by the entire American colony, prominent officials, and many Mexican and foreign families. Among the company were General Grant and his party, the General in an extemporaneous address referring in very kindly terms to our army acquaintance and to his selection, when President, of me for the Mexican Mission. Among the formal exercises of the occasion were the presentation by the American colony of mementoes of their esteem to Mrs. Foster and myself and a beautifully engrossed and illuminated address signed by the male members of the colony. My readers will excuse the seeming egotism with which I reproduce the address and my reply to it. The following was the address: —

The undersigned American citizens resident in the City of Mexico, in view of the approaching departure of the Honorable John W. Foster from a post which for seven years he has filled with honor to his country, credit to himself, and beneficently for the interests of his countrymen, beg leave to offer this testimonial as a spontaneous expression of the very high

appreciation which his social qualities and efficient public services have secured for him from all who have enjoyed the privilege of his personal friendship or who have had just occasion to claim his official aid, counsel, or protection. While most heartily approving the well-merited recognition which the Government of the United States has accorded to his fidelity and ability in promoting him to a higher diplomatic position, their congratulations are mingled with regrets, deepened by a sense of personal loss, in parting with a gentleman whose house has been so long the centre of social hospitality, and with a national representative whose name has always been a synonym of personal honor and irreproachable official integrity.

City of Mexico, March 2, 1880.

My reply to the address was, in part, as follows: —

I cannot trust myself to attempt to respond in fitting words to this demonstration and to the highly complimentary testimonial regarding my public service and social and private relations, to which the Americans in Mexico have subscribed their names. I can only assure you that it is one of the most precious experiences of my life, and that it will ever remain fresh and glowing in my memory. It has been my practice to accept no present of any value for any service, while holding an office of influence and importance, but as I have to-day presented to the President of this Republic my letter of recall, and have ceased to hold a position where I could render any recompense for favors received but that of simple gratitude and sincere thanks, I cheerfully receive for my wife and myself these elegant and highly appropriate memorials as mementoes of the approbation of my public service and of my personal conduct by my resident countrymen, who have known the manner of my life and have been the daily witnesses of my acts. As such it will be our pride to

hand them down to our children as heirlooms, reminding them that friendship is real and that public duties conscientiously discharged receive proper recognition.

I will not say the sad word "farewell" to-night, as I hope to see you all in your own homes before my departure. But I beg to express for myself and my wife, for whom I am sure the greatest share of this demonstration is intended, — for she has better earned it than I, — our heartfelt thanks for the multitude of acts of kindness and sympathy which we have received in these happy years we have spent amongst you, and to assure you that neither the gayeties of the Court to which we are sent shall cause us to forget you, nor the snows of a Russian winter chill in the slightest degree the warmth of our affection for our friends in sunny Mexico.

Following the American farewell reception, we were invited a few days later to meet the English residents in the British Library, and Mrs. Foster and I were presented with souvenirs of their esteem, accompanied by addresses appropriate to the occasion. While I had unofficially represented a number of foreign governments which did not have diplomatic relations with Mexico, my chief service was in behalf of British interests, which were quite large in the country. There was only a small English colony in the Capital, but they were cultivated and agreeable people, and they added greatly to the social gatherings at the Legation, where they were treated as our countrymen.

I cannot say that my transfer from Mexico was displeasing to me, for the promotion to a higher post was intended as a recognition by my Government of its satisfaction with my official conduct, and it afforded me a gratifying opportunity to have some experience in European diplomatic life. But I left Mexico with many regrets and with a feeling of sadness at the separation from so many dear friends to whom we had become greatly attached, and from a Government which had

been uniformly courteous and considerate of my personal relations. My residence in Mexico of seven years, longer than that of any of my predecessors and much longer than the usual stay of American diplomats in any one post, had enabled me to become intimately acquainted with its people and customs, to participate in their hospitality, to appreciate their many estimable qualities, and to form attachments which have lasted through the many intervening years.

My relations with the Government had not always been pleasant. The claims of Americans for alleged outrages and unjust treatment were numerous, and I had to press them upon an unwilling Administration. At times there was a strong tension of our friendly intercourse, and open hostilities seemed to be the only outcome; but I never lost the personal esteem of the Mexican authorities, and when I left the country I was possessed of the hearty friendship of the President and his official associates.

The construction of the railroads has enabled Mrs. Foster and myself in later years to make several visits to Mexico and to renew the pleasant relations of the olden times, whose memory has remained ever fresh, notwithstanding our residence and experience in many other parts of the globe. No one more than we has rejoiced in the peace and abounding prosperity which have come to this fair land, of whose awakening period of new life we were witnesses and humble participants.

My transfer from Mexico to Russia was notable for myself and family, as it was our first visit to Europe. Coming from Mexico on the same steamer with the Grants, we made a brief visit to our home in Indiana and to Washington and sailed from New York for Liverpool. We made a short stay in London, which was busily spent in sight-seeing and social entertainments. We had many friends in the metropolis whose acquaintance we had formed while they were visitors in Mexico, and they made proffers of hospitality, only a few

of which we could accept on account of the shortness of our visit. I was presented to the Prince of Wales (now Edward VII) at a royal levee in St. James's Palace, held for the Queen; and had a pleasant interview with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Earl Granville, who took occasion to repeat the thanks, which had been tendered me in writing before leaving Mexico, for my representation of British interests before the Government of that country. Lord Granville also invited me to dinner, and I had an opportunity to see something of his genial manners, his delightful humor, and his sparkling wit. Among our other social experiences was attendance at a brilliant reception given by the Lord High Chancellor and Lady Selbourne.

Mr. Lowell, our Minister, recently transferred from Madrid, was absent on account of the fatal illness of his wife, but in later visits to London I met him frequently and formed a friendship with him which lasted to the end of his life. One of the best known Americans whom I met here was Moncure D. Conway. A clergyman by profession, his had been a varied and erratic religious experience; of liberal and humane views, a strong intellectual character, there was no American of his day who had more friendly intercourse with cultured British society, and through his hospitable attentions on this and subsequent visits I was enabled to meet many of this class of people.

My most interesting personal experience in London was a visit which I paid to the British statesman and philanthropist, John Bright. The call was arranged through his nephew, who was a member of Parliament, and I thus was afforded opportunity for a full conversation, which was mainly occupied with reminiscences of our Civil War and his comments on the great prosperity and development of the United States. I had much pleasure in expressing to him the immense debt of gratitude which our people felt for his untiring and valuable service in our behalf in the greatest crisis of our history,

and how desirous they were that he should make a visit to our country in order that they might be afforded an opportunity to demonstrate that gratitude. He feelingly and sadly said he never could undertake the journey, as he was a poor sailor and he was reminded by his physical condition of the growing infirmity of years. He was, of all Englishmen, the most devoted and consistent friend of the Union cause in our great struggle. Gladstone, for instance, a warm admirer of our institutions, failed us in the supreme hour of our need and announced the Union as lost. But Bright never faltered or lost faith. He was a thorough believer in democracy and the dignity of labor, and through the darkest period of the war his eloquent voice in Parliament and before the people was full of hope and encouragement.

I did not meet Mr. Gladstone socially, but I had the pleasure of hearing him speak in the House of Commons in defense of the Government's conduct on the occupation of Egypt. As an oratorical effort it was a disappointment, but there was little occasion for oratory, and the statement might have been made as well by a mediocre Cabinet Minister.

From London we crossed to Paris, that metropolis of taste and pleasure, where my stay was brief, as I was desirous of reaching St. Petersburg to present my credentials before the Emperor left the Capital on his summer vacation. The most agreeable incident of my visit to Paris was meeting again my college classmate and intimate friend, Robert R. Hitt, then Secretary of Legation, but soon afterwards called to Washington as Assistant Secretary of State, and for twenty-five years consecutively a member of Congress, the greater part of that time being Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In this latter post he exercised an important influence in our international relations, and was one of the most influential members of Congress. His success and usefulness are evidenced by the unfaltering support through nearly a generation given him by his constituents. Besides

Robert R. Hill

his own native talents, he had exceptional training for political life, first associated with Abraham Lincoln and afterwards as private secretary to Oliver P. Morton, the two most sagacious statesmen of their day. He was a brilliant conversationalist and a ready writer. Of many of his letters, I give one written to me in Mexico soon after his appointment to Paris, and his marriage in middle life, as follows: —

The sight of your well-known handwriting, coming from so far, was very pleasant when your kind note came the other day. Thank you for your good wishes. I earnestly hope that your suggested visit to Europe will be carried out while we are here, and that we shall have the opportunity to aid in making Paris agreeable to you and Mrs. Foster.

Ever since you went away I have heard from you from time to time, sometimes at long intervals, through the Indiana friends, especially Senator Morton. It has been pleasant to me to always hear good things of you.

I wish you had extended your letter a little more and told me how you like your present residence? What kind of a life the Minister has in Mexico? How you live, whether in a house by yourselves or in the gregarious fashion of the Latin race — a population in a building. Whether there is much ceremonial duty connected with your office? Do you have to entertain much? How far do you overrun your salary? Is the Legation constantly pestered with applications from our people abroad who have got into trouble? Do you find your colleagues in the Diplomatic Corps an agreeable body? What kind of a place of residence is it, and forty-nine things I would like to hear from you — things that are now very much more interesting in the light of my own experience than they would have been before I came away from our own people and the plain and well-trodden round of affairs there as you and I know it. You have long before this become perfect or at least easy in your Spanish.

This city is one that has all that man has invented to make time pass pleasantly if one will only pay for it. My office is light in labors and has a long train of what are almost forms, — what are deemed social privileges, dignities, and duties which may be made a pleasure or a weariness. Sometimes the little courtesies connected with it are delightful — for instance Madame MacMahon sent the Legation tickets for the (Imperial?) opera-box the other evening — a pretty thing for the ladies. After I shall have become more familiar with the place, its duties and surroundings, and with the French world, I hope to have more leisure to be able to enjoy a thousand things in literature and art that are within reach here.

We are living very pleasantly — housekeeping, a thing I have always looked forward to with vague dread, but it proves not only easy, it is absolutely pleasant, so perfect is the training of domestics here. The cooking is, as all the world knows, the first of the glories of France. I believe, too, that my entry upon domestic life has been made easy by the fact that I had the inestimable good fortune to choose a wife as perfect as — you think yours — can I say more? My respects and best wishes to Mrs. Foster.

From Paris I went direct to St. Petersburg, presented my credentials to the Emperor, and, as the summer vacation had begun and the official world were leaving the Capital, I took advantage of a sixty days' leave of absence granted by the Department of State. Accompanied by my family, I visited the countries of western and central Europe, and returned to St. Petersburg by way of Warsaw and Moscow.

During this excursion I visited the capitals and leading cities of the countries indicated, met the ministers of foreign affairs, diplomats, and public men, and had an opportunity of discussing with them political, commercial, and other topics. What most interested and gratified me was the ex-

pression on every hand of wonder and praise of the peaceful and prosperous condition of the United States and the healthy state of our political and financial affairs.

The subject which chiefly attracted attention was our national finances. While the governments of Europe, almost without exception, were increasing annually their expenses, it was to them most noteworthy that we continued year by year redeeming and reducing the debt at a rate unprecedented in history, and were proposing to refund our loans at three per cent, thus placing our credit on a level with that of the most stable and wealthy nations of the Old World. The triumphant results of our Civil War did not so strongly and favorably impress them with the permanency of our institutions as those financial achievements. As indicating the character of the public discussion, I quote from a lengthy editorial of the period in the St. Petersburg "Journal," the Government organ, in reviewing the President's annual message: "The most wonderful example of national prosperity is that which the United States furnish. While in Europe each State does not cease to contract new obligations, to increase a burden of debt already so heavy, the United States year by year diminish the weight of theirs — they do it rapidly, about 150 millions through the budget. . . . What a contrast between the year 1880 and the year 1865. In 1865 a people half-ruined, with its bonds at 48 per cent and a depreciated paper currency — 1880, a country whose credit rivals that of Great Britain. The American Republic has advanced with the stride of a giant."

My audience of the Emperor Alexander II, to deliver my letter of credence from the President, took place on June 10, 1880. It had been fixed for the fifth, but it had to be postponed on account of the death of the Empress, which occurred on the third. The ceremony of the presentation of Ministers is more simple than that of Ambassadors at the Court of St. Petersburg, and owing to the death of the Em-

press was even more simple in my case. I give the details of it as written to my wife, then in Paris: —

I went to the Winter Palace in my own carriage, as is the custom here, accompanied only by my *chasseur*, or official servant. At the entrance I was met by an officer in uniform who escorted me to the stairway, whence the under-master of ceremonies conducted me to the waiting-room, where Prince Lieven, the chief master of ceremonies, received and entertained me until I was called to the Emperor in the adjoining room, within a short time after my arrival. Prince Lieven accompanied me to the door and there left me. The door was closed when I had entered, and I stood alone in the presence of the Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias.

He took my hand and apologized for keeping me waiting a few minutes (is punctuality a royal virtue?), as he said he had just returned from a service at the Cathedral where the Empress is buried. I then handed him the President's letter with a few remarks, to which he responded — all in an informal manner. He referred to the old friendship of the two nations and we exchanged a few phrases on that subject. He asked me if this was my first visit to Russia, and with a few other commonplace remarks the interview closed. His whole manner was very pleasant. We shook hands again and I bowed myself out, the entire ceremony not occupying more than eight minutes.

I was met by Prince Lieven, who accompanied me to the exit, where the next officer took charge of me, and so on, as I came in, till I reached my carriage, the soldiers on guard at the stairways and in the halls presenting arms as I passed. There was less ceremony even than in Mexico, except that all the officials were in bright uniforms or liveries. I wore my dress-suit, with my army badges, mourning shirt-studs, black gloves, and cravat. I am very glad my reception was so soon after the Empress's burial. I am told I have been

fortunate not to have waited a month. The Government have certainly been very courteous and considerate about it.

I was very agreeably impressed with the Emperor. His personal appearance was quite attractive. He had an erect and soldierly bearing, expressive blue eyes, and might well be described as a handsome man. He possessed great grace of manner, was affable and pleasing in conversation. I have met no other sovereign with whom personal intercourse was so cordial and agreeable. The other members of the imperial family and grand dukes to whom it was my duty to pay my respects had already absented themselves from the Capital, and we were not presented to them until the autumn.

I found most of my diplomatic colleagues still at their posts. There were two points of contrast with the Diplomatic Corps of Mexico — first, it was much more numerous, being one of the largest in Europe; and, second, there were the distinct grades of Ambassadors and Ministers. On the latter I called immediately after my presentation to the Emperor. To the Ambassadors the established practice required me to address each a note asking them to fix a time when it would be convenient for them to receive me, which was in almost every case set for the next day. The special privileges which attach to Ambassadors were never any serious embarrassment to me, nor do I think they stood in the way of my usefulness to my country. At the Foreign Office, for instance, if I arrived first, my ambassadorial colleagues voluntarily yielded me precedence in my interview with the Minister of State, and I had with them even more cordial and intimate relations than with most of my colleagues of the same rank. I attribute this not to any personal merits on my part, but to the commanding position which the United States had attained in Europe, coupled with the high tone of courtesy of my ambassadorial associates.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DIPLOMATS AND THE RUSSIAN COURT

In no capital of the world during the "eighties" were there more able and distinguished diplomats than those accredited to the Court of St. Petersburg. Probably not the most astute, but the most brilliant, of these was the British Ambassador, the Marquis of Dufferin. This was his first diplomatic post, but he had already played an important part in public affairs in Parliament and the Ministry. He was a student at Eton, graduated with honor at Oxford, and all through life kept up his classical studies; for instance, while Governor-General of Canada, replying to an academic address in Greek. He was an enthusiastic sportsman, a good rider in the chase, a water-color artist of no mean merit, and an author of good repute. He was an accomplished talker, both in conversation and on the platform, and possessed of a ready wit inherited from his ancestor Sheridan. He had the Chesterfield graces, was admired by women, popular with men, and a favorite in the drawing-room and at Court.

He came from Canada, where he had won much reputation, to St. Petersburg at a critical period in the relations between the two Governments. The British fleet only recently had prevented the Russian occupation of Constantinople, and at the Berlin Conference Disraeli had torn up the Treaty of San Stefano; Russia was pushing her advance in Asia uncomfortably near the frontier of India; there was on the part of Russia a feeling of resentment, and of suspicion on the part of Great Britain; and it was Dufferin's difficult rôle to smooth the irritation of Russia and quiet the alarm in India. It is high praise to say he discharged his task with success.

From St. Petersburg he was transferred to Constantinople, thence to the vice-royalty of India, again in the diplomatic service at Rome, and he concluded his versatile official career as Ambassador at Paris, where I was again brought into personal and official relations with him during the Anglo-American Arbitration of 1893.

He had inherited with his Irish peerage a large Irish estate, but between his liberal way of living and the landlord-tenant embarrassment it was largely dissipated. He entertained liberal views on the latter question, but could not agree to the extreme demands of the tenants. Knowing his interest in the subject, I gave him once at St. Petersburg an article by an American observer, and he replied, sending his thanks for my attention, in a lengthy letter, in which he refuted the observations with much force, showing an intimate knowledge of the perplexing question. When he retired he found the pension allowed by his Government insufficient for his needs, without revenue from his Irish estate, and he embarked in a business scheme, lending his name as president to an enterprise of which he knew little and to which he was not fitted to contribute any useful service. It proved a discreditable failure and embittered the last days of an otherwise brilliant and honorable life.

He was ably supported throughout his entire public career by Lady Dufferin, a woman of many accomplishments and charms, much tact, great hospitality, and a humane spirit. From the beginning I and my family were made perfectly at home in the British Embassy, and we were much in the company of its host and hostess.

One of my colleagues with whom I formed a warm friendship was the gallant and dashing French Ambassador, General Chanzy. He was in every sense a soldier, as St. Petersburg was his first and only diplomatic post, and that for two years only. Before the fall of Napoleon III and the humiliation of the French arms in his ill-starred campaign, Chanzy

had seen service in Algiers, at Magenta and Solferino, and in the Syrian campaign. He had brought himself into bad odor by exposure of the corruptions in the War Office, and he was refused a command in the Franco-German War. But when the Germans advanced upon Paris, it was Chanzy who called his countrymen to arms, hastily collected the Army of the Loire, and heroically but vainly sought to drive back the invader. In the establishment of the Third Republic, he has been styled the strong right hand of Gambetta, as it was his conspicuous ability and military talent that enabled the latter to carry to success his plans. On his return from St. Petersburg he filled the important post of Governor of Algeria for six years, and he died very soon after Gambetta. He was a great admirer of the United States, and was always anxious to hear my experiences in our Civil War.

The Austrian Ambassador, Count Kalnoky, had been trained in the diplomatic service, having entered it at the age of twenty-two. After ten years spent in London, he passed to Rome, Copenhagen, and St. Petersburg. After a brief residence here he was recalled to the Foreign Office at Vienna, and as Prime Minister of that Empire for several years he played an important part in the Triple Alliance and European politics. His downfall was brought about in 1895 by his devotion to the Catholic Church and his extreme ultramontane views.

A very interesting character was Count Nigra, the Italian Ambassador. He was an ardent friend of Count Cavour and an enthusiastic supporter of the New Italy. He left his studies as a youth in 1848 and joined in the Sardinian campaign against Austria. At the end of the hostilities he entered the Foreign Office, accompanied Cavour to London in 1855, participated in the negotiations for the Franco-Italian alliance of 1859, and followed the French headquarters in that campaign. From 1861 to 1876 he was the Italian representative in Paris. In the latter year he was transferred to

St. Petersburg; afterwards served in London and Vienna, and his last public duty was as the chief of the Italian delegation at the Hague Peace Conference of 1899.

I was often entertained by the narrative of his unique experiences with Cavour, in the campaigns, and his long and eventful residence in Paris. One of his narratives is so typical of the many brilliant Russian women who have played such an important part in European politics that I venture to reproduce it. Count Nigra relates that when he went to take leave of Cavour in 1860, and assume charge of the Sardinian (afterwards Italian) Legation in Paris, Cavour said to him: "I am giving you a letter for the Countess de Circourt. Take it to her yourself, and frequent her *salon.* This is my final instruction to you; and if you carry it out, you will be able to render sundry additional services to our country, besides getting profit and pleasure for yourself."

Anastasie Klustine (Circourt) was born in Moscow in 1808, the daughter of parents of high rank of the nobility. Her early years were spent partly in Moscow and partly on the family estate. First through governesses and then from tutors, at sixteen she knew Russian, German, French, and English. Though her health was delicate, she had learned also the ancient Church-Slavonic, and was studying religion, music, ethics, metaphysics, and botany. At eighteen, in company with her mother, she commenced the travels which occupied much of her life. Up to the date of her marriage at twenty-two, she had spent much time in Paris, at Nice and Geneva, and in Italy, improving her mind and adding to her knowledge of languages. She was not pretty, but had a pleasant face, elegant manners, remarkable intelligence and education, and a nobility of soul which attracted the attention of distinguished persons wherever she appeared. Her husband, Count Circourt, was a French nobleman of fortune and literary taste. After some years spent in the intellectual circles of Geneva and Italy, and in revisiting Russia, they

established themselves at Paris, and during the imperial régime of Napoleon III, her home was the leading centre of the political, literary, and artistic life of that gay capital, probably the last survivor of those *salons* which a century or two ago made Paris famous in the intellectual world.

Nigra had his political and diplomatic training under a most excellent master, the great Cavour; but he said that in the drawing-room of the Countess Circourt he found fully realized the prediction of Cavour, the meeting-place of all the well-known persons, men and women, of all countries, among her American friends being our countrymen Ticknor and Prescott. There, lying upon a sofa, because of a physical infirmity, she welcomed her distinguished friends, and there the young Italian diplomat received valuable training in social and political affairs for his long public career. Nigra died in 1907 while the Second Hague Peace Conference was in session, and it was my sad duty to unite with the Conference in voting a memorial on my old colleague's demise.

The member of the Diplomatic Corps of St. Petersburg who sustained the most intimate personal relations with Alexander II and exercised the greatest influence at Court was General von Schweinitz, the German Ambassador, Dean of the Corps. He spoke Russian fluently, a rare accomplishment of a diplomatist even at that capital, was a general of high rank, and usually accompanied the Emperor in the military reviews and often on his hunting expeditions. He possessed in an unusual degree the confidence of Bismarck, who for some years previous had occupied the same post. Before coming to St. Petersburg he spent seven years at Vienna, where he met and married the daughter of John Jay, the American Minister at that Court. She was an accomplished and attractive woman, a worthy representative of her distinguished lineage. My residence in St. Petersburg was immediately opposite that of the German Ambassador, and the two families saw much of each other.

The Chinese Minister, Marquis Tseng, was a noted member of the Diplomatic Corps. His father before him had been an important character in Chinese affairs, having taken a prominent part in suppressing the Taiping Rebellion and in the rearrangement of the Empire. The Marquis had for some time filled the post of Chinese Minister in London, where I first met him, and he was presented to the Emperor only a few weeks after my presentation. He came at a critical period in the relations of the two empires. Russia was steadily pushing its advance in Eastern Asia and taking advantage of every opportunity for encroachments on Chinese territory. The predecessor of the Marquis had been overreached by shrewd Russian diplomacy, and been induced to sign a treaty yielding to the claims of Russia for a large part of the Kuldja Province. The treaty was made in violation of the Minister's instructions, the Chinese Government refused to ratify it, and the Minister on his return home was imprisoned and sentenced to decapitation. His life was saved only through the remonstrance of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking, who explained to the Chinese rulers that in this day an unfaithful diplomatic representative was merely dismissed in disgrace from the service.

Marquis Tseng was dispatched to St. Petersburg, as the most able Chinese diplomatist, to accomplish the difficult task of satisfying the offended Russian Government and to make a new treaty. He had told me in London that he hoped to be able to have my aid and counsel. After the negotiations were entered upon at St. Petersburg, he kept me informed of the progress made, and took a very gloomy view of the situation, fearing his failure and that war was imminent. At last, after some months had passed, he came to me to say that affairs had reached such a stage that he feared he could go no further without my aid, and he asked if I would, as a great service to his Government and himself personally, see M. de Giers, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to say a word

in favor of a peaceful settlement of the differences, and recommend to the Russian Government a spirit of conciliation and forbearance towards China in the pending negotiations. He felt sure that a friendly word from me would be of great service to China just at that time, in view of the warm friendship existing between Russia and the United States and of the further fact that my country would not be suspected of any sinister motive in the suggestions I should make.

I told the Marquis that it was a very delicate task for me to undertake, and that I could only venture to refer to the subject as I might have occasion incidentally in one of my visits to the Foreign Office on other business, if an opportunity offered.

Just at that time I was engaged in an animated discussion with M. de Giers on the rights of American Jews in Russia, and, in the course of one of our conversations, in answer to my animadversion on race prejudice, he referred to the treatment of the Chinese in the United States as an illustration of the difficulty of treating the race question. This enabled me to mention the satisfactory termination the year before of the treaty negotiations between the United States and China on the labor question, and to follow it up with a statement of the deep and growing interest which our country felt in the maintenance of peace among the nations of Eastern Asia, on account of the development of our Pacific States and of American commerce through them; and I expressed the hope that the negotiations which I understood were now pending between Russia and China would have a like peaceful and satisfactory conclusion.

M. de Giers listened to me with interest and expressed himself as highly gratified to have an opportunity to talk with me on the subject. He understood how great an interest the United States as a commercial nation had in the maintenance of peace in those regions, and he assured me that the Russian Government was desirous of coming to an ami-

cable arrangement with China and had no disposition to be harsh or to exact inconvenient conditions. After explaining in some detail the situation of the negotiations, he remarked jocosely that as the former Chinese Minister was condemned to decapitation for making his treaty, the present Minister appeared solicitous to act so that when he returned to China he would not have his head cut off!

Marquis Tseng was successful in negotiating and signing a treaty satisfactory to his Government, and for which he gained much credit at home and abroad. To what extent my action contributed to that result I cannot say; the Marquis at least expressed his gratitude to me; and when I visited China fourteen years later I found that my relations at St. Petersburg contributed to the warmth of my reception at Peking. It was the beginning of an intercourse with the rulers of that Empire which continued throughout my public life.

The most distinguished and accomplished diplomatist (using the term in its strict sense, for he could hardly be called a great statesman) I have ever met was Prince Alexander Gortchakoff, Chancellor of the Russian Empire. On my arrival in St. Petersburg he was still the nominal chief of the Foreign Office, and our official communications were addressed to him, though the answers were signed by M. de Giers, "directing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," as for some years he had ceased to have any active participation in affairs of state, except on rare occasions. A short time after my arrival, in a call at the Foreign Office, I inquired of Baron Jomini, the Under-Secretary, about the Prince's health. He answered that he was not well and that he never would be better; that he was permanently retired from public life; that his spirits were completely broken when the late war with Turkey was resolved upon, to which he was strongly opposed; that he felt the great need of Russia was peace in order to repair her finances and develop the resources of the country; that his advice was not followed, and since that time

he had been a disappointed man, broken down both in health and spirits. He never appeared in public during my time, but I had two interesting interviews with him at his own residence, and while I found him suffering from the gout and feeble physically, his mind seemed bright and strong, and he evinced still that vivacity and wit for which he was so famous.

Gortchakoff was the best type in his day of the trained diplomatist. Born of a princely family which claimed descent from Rurik, he received the best education attainable in Russia. He spoke and wrote French with versatility and elegance and was a good German and Italian scholar. He conversed with me in English, but with some hesitation. As a young secretary he attended the congresses of Laybach and Verona, under the auspices of the Holy Alliance, and was able to avail himself so early of the precepts of those able masters, Pozzo di Borgo and Metternich. His name is associated with another illustrious chancellor, though Bismarck was a mere lad when Gortchakoff had already achieved fame as a dexterous negotiator. He was called to the charge of the Foreign Office in succession to that other great Russian diplomatist, Nesselrode, in 1856, after active participation in the Paris Conference.

The standard of his profession in that period required education and genius, training in its duties, talent as a negotiator, cyclopædic intelligence, knowledge of several languages,— with ability to speak them without raising a smile, — mastery of a smoothly gliding and if need be ambiguous verbiage, but a capacity for plain and firm language when required, ready wit, a knowledge of men and women, a taste for worldly pleasures, and the primary elements of statesmanship. These Gortchakoff possessed in greater measure than any other man of his time, and this explains the ascendancy which he so long and so effectively exercised over the foreign relations of his Empire.

The chief defect of his character was his great vanity, but

that was a natural result of his great success and of the army of flatterers who surrounded him. Sir Horace Rumbold, the British diplomat, who saw much of him in his prime, says he was the wittiest man he ever met, and that he seldom came away from him without some good saying which he did not fail to communicate to Lord Clarendon. He repeats a current story concerning a personage who attained notoriety in Washington during President Grant's Administration. Rumbold writes: "The *petits ministères*, as his [Gortchakoff's] intimates in the Imperial Chancellerie were termed, partly owed their standing with him to unblushing adulation. A good story was told of Catacazy, the cleverest and least reputable of them, whom he sent to Washington and had to recall on account of his attempts to embroil us with the United States. This Russo-Greek had entangled himself with a lady of Jewish extraction, of the romantic appellation of Fitzjames de Berwick, whom he was foolish enough to marry, to his patron the Chancellor's great disgust. Henceforward, the Chancellor said to him, 'You are lost for me in the crowd!' 'Of your Highness's admirers,' was the ready reply. This the Prince could not resist. 'You are a man of wit,' he said to the wily Catacazy; 'come and dine with me this evening.'" But Catacazy's flattery did not save him from permanent retirement because of his Washington conduct.

The Russian official with whom I naturally had most to do was M. de Giers, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He entered that office at the age of eighteen as a clerk. He served as Minister in Switzerland, Sweden, and Prussia, and in 1875 became Assistant Minister under Gortchakoff, and during the last years of Alexander II was the real Minister. He tendered his resignation to Alexander III at the same time with Loris Melikoff, as he shared in his liberal views, but the Emperor did not see fit to accept it. He was thoroughly conversant with the business and traditions of his office, he was vigilant, prudent, active, unambitious, and obedient — qualities

which the new Emperor appreciated, and he retained him to the close of his reign. He did not possess brilliant qualities, but he proved a most useful public servant. My relations with him were most pleasant and cordial, and I heartily indorse Lord Dufferin's estimate of him, written after De Giers's death, as "one of the most moderate, sensible, and straightforward statesmen I have ever known."

One of my nearest neighbors in St. Petersburg was His Serene Highness, Prince Lieven, Grand Master of Ceremonies, his palace being nearly opposite my residence, and our families, finding much that was congenial in tastes, saw a good deal of each other. He was greatly interested in the development of our country, and was frequently asking me questions as to its growth and productions. I remember, for instance, his amazement at the statistics I gave him, at his request, of the annual yield of Indian corn, which he said was almost incredible. He was a Protestant, his family coming from one of the German provinces, quite a devout Christian, and he manifested as much interest as his high position would permit in the evangelistic movement in the Greek Church, to which I refer in the next chapter.

His family is one of the most illustrious of the European nobility and figures prominently in the "Almanach de Gotha." They are Livonians, and trace their ancestry back in an unbroken line to a feudal baron of the thirteenth century. They gained their first prominence in Russian society owing to the fact that the wife of Count Otto Lieven was the governess of the children of the Czar Paul, — Alexander, Constantine, and Nicholas, — who regarded her as their second mother. But the most famous member of the family was the wife of Prince Lieven, Ambassador of Russia in Berlin, London, and Paris in the first half of the nineteenth century. Probably no other woman connected with the Diplomatic Corps of Europe made herself so distinguished for her talents and influence. A son of the Prince Lieven of my acquaintance

commanded a vessel of the Russian squadron at Port Arthur in the late war, successfully ran his ship through the Japanese fleet, and escaped with her to Saigon.

My association with the men whose career I have briefly sketched was a profitable and interesting experience, as I was thus brought into personal contact with statesmen who had taken an active part in the important political affairs of Europe and whose relation to those of an earlier generation covered the events of the Old World throughout the nineteenth century.

Soon after my arrival in St. Petersburg I also became cognizant of a phase of monarchical life which seemed strange to one educated in the republican simplicity of the New World. I have mentioned the death of the Empress a few days after my arrival. She was a German princess of unexceptionable character, and his biographer records that the marriage to her of Alexander II "was wholly a love-match, the young prince having made his own choice among a host of German princesses." For many years the marriage proved a happy one, and there came to them a group of several sons and a daughter. After these had grown to manhood the Emperor contracted a friendship for another woman whom he made his mistress, and so open was this alliance that it became known throughout Europe. During the last illness of the Empress, this mistress and her imperial children were living in the Winter Palace, where the former lay dying. The Russian Princess Radziwill is authority for the statement that they occupied rooms in the palace directly "over those of the Empress, and that she could hear the children of her rival run and play above her head."

Although by an imperial ukase a general mourning for the Empress of six months had been decreed, the Emperor within six weeks of her death celebrated a morganatic marriage with this mistress. I had been instructed by cable to communicate to the Emperor the condolence of the President on the great

loss sustained in the death of the Empress, and I was to add that "the President trusts that His Majesty will bear this dispensation with the fortitude which he has shown under all the severe trials of his reign." The hasty marriage showed that His Majesty had a source of consolation not counted on by the President.

These events were the most animated subject of general conversation in court and diplomatic circles during the first months of my residence. A newspaper correspondent at St. Petersburg of high standing, in recording the events attending the morganatic marriage, stated that it was "generally looked upon here as the act of a thorough gentleman," and that it had "produced an agreeable sensation, it being but too well known how sovereigns have frequently disposed of their loving friends."

An imperial ukase was issued to the Russian Senate informing that body of the marriage and directing that the wife be given the title of Princess, with inheritance of the rank by her children. But the ukase was never published, she had no public position at Court, and will have none in the Russian dynasty. By the Emperor's will she became one of the wealthiest women in Europe, a single item of her estate being eighteen millions of roubles in London banks. Upon the accession to the throne of Alexander III she left Russia, as reported, under a decree of perpetual banishment. It was a consoling reflection for me that the people of my country had not yet reached such a standard of social culture as to tolerate similar conduct on the part of their President in the White House.

CHAPTER XIV

RUSSIAN AFFAIRS, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

One of my predecessors at the Russian Court, who called on me in New York before sailing, told me that I would have very little to do in the Legation; that I might have to go to the Foreign Office about once a month to get a poor American Jew out of trouble; but that I would find little else of an official character to occupy my time. This was hardly an accurate statement of the business of the Legation, as it was not found by me to be an idle post, but his prognostication as to the Jewish question proved correct.

On my arrival in St. Petersburg there was awaiting me a dispatch from Secretary Evarts, occasioned by a call on him by certain prominent citizens representing the American Hebrew congregations, requesting that "the Minister of the United States to St. Petersburg may be instructed to make such representations to the Czar's Government, in the interest of religious freedom and suffering humanity, as will best accord with the most emphasized liberal sentiments of the American people." The dispatch instructed me that I could only approach the Russian Government on the question when the laws of that country injuriously affected American citizens, but in doing so it was the desire of the President that my action should be consistent with the theory of religious freedom on which our Government was founded.

I also found that the *chargé ad interim* had already on his hands the case of an American Jew expelled from St. Petersburg under circumstances of peculiar hardship. Henry Pinkos, an Israelite and a citizen of the United States, engaged in small trade in that city, was ordered by the police to leave

the city at once, and he was told that all foreign Jews had been ordered to depart, the order being issued soon after the explosion in the Winter Palace, with which it was charged that certain Jews were concerned. The American Consul-General obtained from the police a delay of three days, and as no steamer was sailing a further delay of a week was granted, and by application to the Foreign Office three months were allowed him to settle up his business.

At the end of that time he sold his little property at a sacrifice and prepared to leave Russia. Having paid his passage and sent his luggage on board a vessel at Cronstadt, he was making ready to depart with his family when he was asked by the police for his passport. He showed them the indorsement ordering him to leave St. Petersburg, which he supposed to be sufficient. The police told him it was not, and sent him and his family back to St. Petersburg to procure the required permission. The ship sailed without him, carrying off his baggage, and forfeiting his passage-money. He found himself penniless in a foreign city and was indebted to private charity for the means to leave the country, which he did by the next London vessel.

Soon thereafter a second Jewish case arose. A Mr. Wilczynski, the agent of an American mercantile firm having much business in Russia, entered the country with an American passport duly viséed, and reached St. Petersburg without obstruction. Not long after his arrival he was ordered by the police to leave the city, the reason alleged being that he was a Jew, and the following indorsement was placed upon the passport signed by the police officer: "The bearer of this passport, a North American citizen, a merchant, and a Jew, Marx Wilczynski, is forbidden to reside in St. Petersburg."

Wilczynski presented himself at the American Legation in Berlin to make his complaint, alleging that he had to leave St. Petersburg with such precipitancy that he had no

time to apply to the Legation in the latter city for advice and assistance.

These two cases formed the basis of the exchange of various notes between the Legation and the Foreign Office, and of several interviews by me with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, of the Interior, and of Worship. Our Government based its intervention in these cases upon its duty to follow with its protection all of its citizens in foreign lands, and not to allow any religious test to be a bar to that protection. We also insisted that under our treaty with Russia American citizens were guaranteed the right to reside in all parts of that country and enjoy the same security and protection as Russian subjects.

In reply, M. de Giers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, held that the right of Americans to enter and reside in Russia was subject to the provision in the treaty, "on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing," which in the case of American Jews meant that they were subject to the same restrictions as were imposed upon Russian Jews. M. de Giers urged that the Jewish question was a very vexatious and difficult one, and that in Russia it could not be treated as an abstract question, as it was complicated with a long series of legislative acts and regulations, the strong prejudices of the masses of the Russian people, the bad character of great numbers of the Jewish race, and various political and social circumstances. He stated that the Jewish subjects, almost exclusively Polish, were generally a bad class of society, largely engaged in smuggling and illegal commercial transactions, and active in the revolutionary conspiracies and plots against the Emperor's life.

He said there was every disposition to enforce the laws as leniently as possible against American Jews, especially as they were few and usually of the better class; but owing to the large number of German and Austrian Jews on the border it was difficult to repeal or relax the laws. And the fact was

that after my remonstrances in the cases of Pinkos and Wilczynski, I had no further complaints from my Hebrew fellow citizens. Wilczynski was offered a permit for six months to visit St. Petersburg, with the understanding that another six months would be granted, if desired, and General Loris Melikoff, Minister of the Interior, assured me that on my application he would give American Jews all the time I might ask.

In the course of my interviews with these imperial ministers they received in the most friendly spirit my representations as to the harshness and antiquated character of their laws against the Jews; they freely admitted that they were not in accordance with the spirit of the age, and that they were desirous of conforming the code more nearly to the present stage of civilization, but they found the project surrounded by many difficulties to which other nations were not subjected. Neither did they fail to retort that few nations were free from race prejudice, and asked me if we were not finding some embarrassment in the coming of Chinese to our country. (Just at that time the people of California were in the midst of the "Sand-lot" labor agitation.)

During the pendency of this discussion I made considerable effort to ascertain what were the laws in force relative to the Jews. I was given a large volume, of nearly twelve hundred pages, in the Russian language, which I was informed related exclusively to legislation governing the Jews, but I could find no digest, and it was difficult to ascertain just what laws were in force and what obsolete. I found, however, that by this large mass of ukases, decrees, and police orders, the Jews were confined to a restricted portion of territory in the southwest of the Empire; that even within this territory their habitation was prescribed, their avocations in life were minutely enumerated, and beyond this list they could not trespass, whatever might be their tastes or desires; that their education and religion were regulated by governmental

interference and surveillance; that they could not change their residence to other parts of the Empire without previous application to the highest authorities, and that only bankers and capitalists were granted permission, and they only to reside in the Capital and a few other designated cities; and to aggravate the situation, free emigration to foreign countries was prohibited, under pain of Siberian imprisonment. In my examination I did not find that M. de Giers's charge that Jews were active in revolutionary conspiracies and plots against the Emperor's life was largely true, but recalling this code and remembering the wrongs and outrages which they had suffered, my wonder was that more Israelites were not found in the Nihilist ranks.

The Emperor Nicholas I had been quite severe in the enforcement of the Jewish laws and restrictions, but during the reign of Alexander II they had been greatly relaxed. For instance, under the then existing regulations only a very limited number of this race, a few merchants, bankers, and professional men, were permitted to reside in St. Petersburg, but I was informed on reliable authority that, in 1880, while only about fifteen hundred Jews were registered by the police, the number of Jewish residents amounted to thirty thousand; that while the Government did not recognize their legal existence, there were nine synagogues in the city; and that while only one Hebrew school was registered, there were over three thousand children in unauthorized schools.

During my residence the country was several times disgraced by Jewish massacres, some of them only a little less revolting than the later one at Kishineff, which so horrified the civilized world. It was plain to me then that the country must pay dearly in the end for the unjust treatment of six millions of its people. The disorders in the Empire which have followed the Russo-Japanese War are in some measure due to the cruel and unwise Jewish policy extending through generations of time.

I was early made acquainted officially with an institution which was a novelty in my republican experience, the censorship of the mails. The American Consul-General found that his newspaper mail was being tampered with and some of it withheld at the St. Petersburg post-office. In this case it was occasioned by the failure of the publishers, in the United States, of the papers withheld to comply with the post-office regulation as to registry and permission to circulate in Russia. The detention of the papers addressed to the Consul-General at once ceased upon a representation of the Legation to the Foreign Office. A strict censorship of the mail matter of private individuals was maintained. The letters and papers were rarely destroyed or detained, but it was a common practice of the censors to deface and make illegible any article in a foreign newspaper which was regarded as seditious or injurious to the Government. It was a frequent habit of the American and other resident subscribers of the London "Times," for instance, to come to the Legation to read in its copy of the "Times" the article which had been censorized and blurred at the post-office.

In almost all respects there was a complete contrast between the social conditions which attended our long residence in Mexico and those which we found at St. Petersburg. Here there was practically no American society: two or three American women married to Russian officials, an occasional American contractor with his family, without permanent residence, and a single American commercial house, that of Ropes & Co. of Boston. The manager of this old firm, Mr. George H. Prince, a highly estimable old gentleman, had spent forty and more years in St. Petersburg and had enjoyed the acquaintance of a long list of American Ministers, his reminiscences of whom were very interesting.

In compensation for the smallness of the American colony, there were quite a number of British bankers, merchants, and manufacturers with their families, to whom we were intro-

duced largely through the hospitable British Embassy, and we established with them very pleasant relations. In that distant land we all seemed members of one great English family.

Humboldt said a century ago that Mexico was the best built city in the western hemisphere, and it was even so before the foundations of St. Petersburg were laid. But the latter far surpassed it in our day in the breadth and attractiveness of its avenues, the extent and imposing character of its public buildings, palaces, and private residences, and in its activity and commercial importance. The Neva in its volume of water is the most majestic river in Europe. With its many channels and islands it adds greatly to the attractiveness of the city and its suburbs. The drive about the islands, forming a series of city parks, is one of the most charming in the world.

The outdoor amusements and sports were quite in contrast to the excursion parties in the Valley or across the mountains in the genial climate of Mexico. Winter is the season of amusements and social engagements in Russia. With its coming St. Petersburg is transformed into a new city in its mantle of snow. Even the horses seem to take on new life; the sleighs which crowd the streets are whisked about with lightning speed. The deep-flowing Neva is converted into a frozen thoroughfare covered with sledges, and even with the encampments of the Laplanders, who drive a thriving trade; the pontoon bridges are withdrawn, and their places taken by icy lanes flanked by transplanted pine trees.

The long nights and the short days of that high latitude necessarily make darkness the time for the great variety of amusements to which the people are addicted. The younger members of our family found much enjoyment in the skating-parties in the private parks reserved for the nobility and the Diplomatic Corps, the grounds beautifully illuminated and the skaters moving to the melody of a band of music detailed

for the purpose, while hot tea and sandwiches were served from adjacent booths.

An outdoor sport of the Swiss ice-hills, somewhat resembling tobogganing but more exhilarating, was much in fashion. It was quite the custom for the diplomats and others to make up parties for those places, situated several miles outside the city. The "hills" and the grounds were illuminated with Chinese lanterns and Bengal lights; a band of music was often a part of the amusement, even though the thermometer stood below zero Fahrenheit, hot tea and refreshments were served in the open, or in a sheltered room of the "hills," and after midnight an elaborate supper was served in an adjoining room, the entertainment sometimes concluding with a small dance and a return home at a somewhat late hour of the morning.

A troika party was a similar amusement. A number of sleighs, drawn by three fleet horses abreast, and holding four persons each, made up the company. A long drive of two hours or more was made in the clear, crisp atmosphere, to a popular restaurant up near the Finland frontier; a supper was served after midnight to satisfy the appetite sharpened by the long open-air ride, which was concluded by an exhibition of Gypsy dancers or, in lieu of them, a dance by the young people of the party. As from the "ice-hills," a return home was made early, or rather late, in the morning. The rapid, smooth-gliding motion of the sleigh, the broad expanse of pure white snow, the brilliant starlight of that clear northern climate, made the excursion for even us, unacclimated foreigners, an exhilarating sport and a pleasing contrast to the scenes to which we had been accustomed in far-away Mexico.

Owing to the death of the Empress, followed some months after by the assassination of the Emperor, the Winter Palace was closed to festivities during the greater part of my residence in St. Petersburg. I had occasion to remark that my

duties during that time were chiefly in attending imperial funerals and services for the repose of the souls of the dead! Because of the Court mourning the society of the Capital was not so gay as usual, but in the Diplomatic Corps and among the nobility many quiet dinners were given, more even than when balls and receptions were the rule. In that way we had the opportunity of meeting more of the distinguished personages and coming in closer contact with them than under ordinary circumstances. In no capital of Europe is there found a more hospitable society than that of St. Petersburg. The members of the nobility and of the higher classes are usually well educated and refined, and more accomplished in foreign languages than those of other countries.

On leaving my home in Indiana for my post at St. Petersburg I was given a number of letters of introduction to persons of high station in that city by a prominent citizen of my State with whom I had had an acquaintance of several years' standing, Mr. Barnabas C. Hobbs. He was an active and influential member of the Society of the Friends (Quakers), and had made a journey to Russia the year before as the representative of his society to seek some relief from the military and other exactions of the Government for his co-religionists, the Mennonites and Stundists. The simplicity of his manners and dress, his intelligence, and devotion to his cause, won for him great favor. The Emperor gave him an audience and lent a willing ear to his appeal, and he made many acquaintances, among the members of the nobility, of piety and humane views.

The letters which Mr. Hobbs gave me brought me in contact with a class of persons whose acquaintance I might not otherwise have formed and with a condition of Russian society little known to foreigners. A few years before that date some Russian ladies of rank passing the summer in Switzerland attended evangelistic meetings being held in that country by an English nobleman, Lord Radstock, and the French

Protestant pastors, M. Monod and M. de Pressense. They were so much interested in the services that they secured a promise from Lord Radstock to visit Russia and conduct similar services there. He accordingly came to St. Petersburg, and for three or four successive winters held evangelistic meetings in the palaces and private houses of the nobility, which were largely attended and awakened much interest. The leaders in the movement were all members of the Orthodox Greek Church. Their design was not to establish a new sect or a branch of the Protestant Church, but to awaken new spiritual life and create a higher standard of piety in the established Imperial Church.

After the departure of Lord Radstock the movement was carried on by the Russians themselves, Counts Korff and Bobrinsky and Colonel Pashkoff being the leaders. I became well acquainted with them and they were often welcome visitors at the Legation. Chief of these was Colonel Pashkoff, an officer in the Imperial Guards, and a man of great wealth and very distinguished family. His large palace on the principal street of St. Petersburg, the Nevski Prospect, was thrown open to the evangelistic meetings during the week and on Sundays. They were attended by hundreds of people, even as many as a thousand crowding the rooms at times and hundreds turned away unable to find admission. These congregations were made up of members of princely families and of the *entourage* of the Czar, officers of the army, merchants, students, and here and there a priest of the Orthodox Church, and with them peasants, porters, men and women of the lower classes. It was said that there was not a street-sweeper in all St. Petersburg who did not know Colonel Pashkoff and his work of charity in the slums, where he spent millions of his own money and that collected from his friends.

These meetings, some of which I attended, were to me full of interest, with the motley audience and the services so different from those in the Orthodox churches. The exercises

were very similar to evangelistic meetings in England and the United States. They were commenced with a song, a Russian version of some well-known English hymn, sung to one of the popular American tunes arranged in harmony with the spirit of the Russian national melodies, which are plaintive rather than lively. Madame Pashkoff presided at an American organ, assisted by a choir composed of her daughters and other young ladies. An extempore prayer was offered by one of the laymen, followed by a Bible reading and exposition by Colonel Pashkoff; then other hymns, prayers, and addresses usually by Counts Korff and Bobrinsky, both of whom were educated and cultured gentlemen and quite effective speakers.

These meetings, held in St. Petersburg in the winter, were during the summer months carried on in the country, where the leaders went to their estates. The peasants for many miles around and from distant estates would gather to hear the simple preaching of the Gospel, so different from the worship to which they were accustomed in the parish churches of the Established Faith. In the Greek churches of St. Petersburg, in the other great cities, and throughout the country, the services are chanted by the clergy in a Slavonic language unintelligible to the people, and sermons are very rarely heard.

It may be readily seen how such meetings as those held by these self-constituted lay evangelists would awaken the masses of the people to freer thought. They had been held in St. Petersburg for several winters without any interference by the police, but it was plain that under the repressive influence of the Government a time would come when the Holy Synod would see the danger which threatened the Orthodox Church from such a movement, and the first winter of my residence there saw its termination. After the assassination of Alexander II instructions were issued to the police to stop the meetings, and Colonel Pashkoff was ordered to leave Russia,

only ten days being allowed him to visit his estates and close up his affairs. He became an exile from the land of his birth, a large part of his estates were confiscated, and he died more than twenty years afterwards, in Paris, in obscurity.

The union between the Church and State in Russia has been one of the strongest supports of autocracy and it has been maintained by the Government with the strictest rigor. In one respect, however, it has manifested a spirit of liberality. While it has been the policy to uphold the supremacy of the Greek Church and prohibit the entrance of foreign missionaries, it has with rare exceptions respected the faith of new subjects which its arms have added to the Empire and allowed them and their descendants to maintain their own ecclesiastical organizations. Nor has the profession of a dissident faith operated as a bar to public office. In my day the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Giers, was a Protestant; likewise one of the highest officers of the Emperor's official household, the Grand Master of Ceremonies, Prince Lieven, a member of one of the most illustrious families of Europe.

But no member of the Greek Church was allowed to secede, and proselyting therefrom was liable to be followed by Siberian exile or other punishment. All children born of mixed marriages (of differing sects) were claimed for the State Church, and its members were vigorously watched by the autocratic power. The restrictions thrown about the services in the Protestant churches illustrate this, as is shown by an instance coming under my own observation. A Scotch evangelist came to St. Petersburg, after having held services in Rome, Paris, and Berlin. He was allowed to preach in the English language in the small British and American Chapel, but when it was desired to use a hall in the central part of the city the public censor forbade it; nor was it permitted to have his sermons in the chapel interpreted into Russ.

The restrictive measures led to wholesale revolt from the State Church, and dissenting sects were multiplying through-

out European Russia. It was estimated in 1881 that the number of seceders was as high as fourteen millions. The seriousness of this condition appears when it is remembered that in the very act of breaking away from the Established Church the dissenters arrayed themselves against the Czar, and the Government made itself their enemy by wholesale banishments to Siberia, local prosecution, and civil disabilities. This state of affairs was a powerful influence in leading Nicholas II to concede greater freedom of worship as one of the necessary reforms for modern Russia.

The second time I had a conversation with Alexander II was at the New Year reception of 1881 in the Winter Palace. In my report to the Secretary of State I wrote: "In his conversation with me the Emperor manifested the same friendly feeling towards our country as is his custom." I have noted that at our first meeting he referred to "the old friendship" between the two countries. In the two interviews I had with Alexander III and subsequently in twice conversing with Nicholas II, almost the same language was used by them in every instance. The Presidents of the United States have used during the same period similar language to Russian Ministers in Washington.

This continuous and uniform expression shows the friendly state of the relations between the two countries. But since the Russo-Japanese War the sincerity or substantial foundation of this friendship has been challenged. It would seem an anomaly that a genuine friendship could subsist between the greatest republic and the most powerful autocracy in the world. These cordial relations are largely the outgrowth of the events attending our Civil War, as previous to that time the intercourse between the two countries was of the most formal and unimportant character. At the beginning of our history, during the Revolutionary War, the recognition of the struggling colonies by Russia was earnestly sought, but refused. Mr. Dana, our representative sent to St. Petersburg,

was entirely ignored; and our negotiations with Holland were discouraged by the Russian Government.

Dr. Franklin, our representative in Paris, tells an amusing incident which occurred in 1782, to illustrate how careful the Russian Government was at that time to do nothing which might be construed into a recognition of the American Colonies. The heir to the Russian throne, traveling under the incognito of the Count du Nord, on his arrival in Paris caused his card to be left, with that of the Russian Ambassador, upon the chiefs of the Diplomatic Corps, and among others at the American Legation. Dr. Franklin, following the custom and in reciprocation of the supposed courtesy, registered his name in a book at the Russian Embassy provided for the purpose. Immediately afterwards an official called at the Legation in Dr. Franklin's absence to recover the cards, as he said they had been left by mistake, the independence of the Colonies not having been recognized. The Doctor sent back word that he would burn the cards and his name might be erased from the book, and thus the error would be obliterated and the Count saved from further embarrassment.

During the War of 1812 with Great Britain the Russian Government offered its mediation, but its action was inspired more by a desire to obtain the undivided military support of Great Britain in the contest against Napoleon than by friendship for the United States.

At the opening of the Civil War in 1861, Napoleon III approached the Governments of Great Britain and Russia with a view to securing their joint or similar action with France in their intercourse with the Union and the Confederate States. The Government of Great Britain agreed to the policy, but the proposal was rejected by Russia, and the latter gave Secretary Seward early notice of the French Emperor's action. There is no doubt that the attitude of Russia so early in the struggle had a restraining influence upon the other two

Powers, and in all probability prevented mediation. Later in the contest such mediation was proposed by Napoleon, but it was declined by both Great Britain and Russia.

In the autumn of 1863 a Russian fleet, without any previous notice to the Government of the United States, appeared in the harbor of New York, and after some weeks' stay in that port moved southward and anchored in the Potomac. Both in New York and Washington the presence of this fleet was welcomed as a manifestation of the sympathy of the Russian Government with the cause of the Union, and marked social attentions were extended to its officers. In Washington they were received by the President, entertained by the Secretaries of State and of the Navy, and profuse hospitality was showered upon them in social circles.

The manner in which the action of Russia in 1861 and the visit of the Russian fleet to American waters in 1863 has continued to be regarded by our public men may be seen from incidents which occurred during my mission in Russia. After the assassination of Alexander II, in addition to communicating the cabled condolence of the President and Senate of the United States (the only branch of Congress then in session) to the new Emperor on the awful tragedy, I was instructed by Secretary Blaine to ask a special audience of Alexander III, in order, "in a more formal and impressive manner than telegraphic communication, to convey to the Emperor the sentiments of respect and gratitude toward his father which animate the Government and people of the United States. They can never forget," Mr. Blaine directed me to say to him, "the course pursued by the late Emperor toward this country when our national existence was imperiled by civil strife . . . and exposed to the intervention of European Powers."

I was further instructed to state that "A dynasty, not now in power [Napoleon III], but then ruling over a country in which the people have always been our friends, had resolved

upon intervention if coöperation with other nations could be assured. This design, so fraught with danger to liberty and constitutional government on both sides of the Atlantic, was promptly met by the late Emperor with a refusal to take any unfriendly steps against the United States. Nor did His Majesty stop at merely declining to join a coalition adverse to us; he openly declared in our favor, and fearing, from what he knew of the designs against us, that other Powers might unwarily be drawn into a hostile attitude toward this country, the Emperor sent to the waters which both expose and protect our national capital a large and powerful fleet of war-vessels as a proclamation to the world of his sympathy in our struggle and of his readiness to strike a blow on the side of the Union if any foreign Power should strike a blow in aid of the insurrection. . . . The Government of the United States does not recall those historical facts from a desire to awaken unpleasant recollections in any breast, but as a tribute to the memory of a sovereign whose great power, at a most important crisis, was exerted on the side of our Union, even at the risk of plunging his own Empire into war."

In my audience of Alexander III, after delivering the message which Secretary Blaine had directed, I reported to the Department that the Emperor in his reply said, "It was very true, as I had stated, that his father was a sincere friend of the United States, and that during our Civil War he manifested that friendship and his desire for the perpetuity of the Union by the naval demonstration alluded to."

Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, at the time referred to the Speaker of the lower House of Congress and afterwards Vice-President of the United States, in a letter written in 1880, congratulating me on my appointment to the Russian Mission, added the following postscript: "P. S. Just as I was closing this letter it occurred to me to tell you how I came near to being a Russian by courtesy. In 1866, when lecturing in Boston on my stage-ride 'Across the Continent,' I spoke of

the (then) tri-continental domain of Russia (America, Asia, and Europe), and of the debt of gratitude we owed its monarch and people for their outspoken friendship for us during the War, saving us twice at least from foreign intervention against us, etc., etc. A young man from the Chancellerie, who was over here studying our institutions, etc., for Gortchakoff and the Czar, called on me for a copy of those pages of my lecture, which I gave him. Some months after, I received an oral message from the Russian Minister that 'If Schuyler Colfax would enjoy it, the Czar would have him transported from St. Petersburg across Russia in Europe and Asia to the Pacific or Sitka,' which would have been a grand ride. But I was too full of public business and politics to consider it. It was quite an episode, and I thought you might like to know it."

Here is the testimony of two prominent American public men, participants in the events, given nearly twenty years after, of how the attitude of Russia was regarded at the time. And yet it is contended that this is only a partial statement of affairs, and that the action of Russia was not influenced by disinterested friendship for the United States. It is pointed out that Russia had only recently emerged from a disastrous war waged against her by France and England as allies, and that she was in no temper, nor did it coincide with her interests, to form a coalition with them in 1861.

It is also noted that the condition of affairs in Europe in 1862 was not at all favorable to the peace of Russia. Poland was in insurrection, and France was seeking to embarrass her by the usual protest of the Powers against her conduct. Mr. Dayton, our Minister in Paris, reported that a conflict in Europe was imminent. Charles Sumner wrote John Bright, October 8, 1863: "You will observe the hobnobbing at New York with the Russian admiral. Why is that fleet gathered there? My theory is that when it left the Baltic, war with France was regarded as quite possible, and it was determined

not to be sealed up at Cronstadt." As indicating the comments of the press, I quote from "Harper's Monthly," for October, 1863, in its review of current events: "In the present position of European politics the presence of these vessels in our ports has a special significance. During the Crimean War the Russian fleet was closely shut up at Cronstadt and in the Black Sea. . . . Should a war break out, as still seems probable, between Russia and France and England . . . the Russian vessels now at large, with such aid as we can give them in precise accordance with the course of the English Government toward us [the Alabama and other cruisers], could render the commerce of England insecure."

Notwithstanding the state of affairs in Europe and the hostile feeling of Russia toward France and England, her attitude during the Civil War was helpful to the Union cause, and the judgment of history was recorded by Rhodes when he wrote that Russia was "the one great Power of Europe which had openly and persistently been our friend." The cession of Alaska has been regarded by our Government and people as an evidence of Russian friendship. It has been none the less valuable, though the act may have been in part inspired by a jealousy of Great Britain. However, the preponderance of sentiment in the United States in favor of Japan during its conflict with Russia demonstrated that there was no sympathy for the latter's domineering policy in the East, and if "the old friendship" is to continue it is plain it will be with the New Russia, and not with the autocracy.

CHAPTER XV

THE ASSASSINATION OF ALEXANDER II

THE most notable event during my mission in Russia and one of the most notable in modern history was the assassination of the Emperor Alexander II. Five previous attempts upon his life had been made. The first of these occurred at St. Petersburg in 1866, the Emperor's life being saved by a peasant, who was ennobled as a reward for his action. The second attempt was made by a Pole in Paris while the Czar was on a visit to the exposition in 1867. The third was made on him by an ex-official in April, 1879, while returning to the Winter Palace from his morning walk, unattended. Several pistol-shots were fired at him, some of them piercing his clothing, but he escaped unhurt.

Previous to the third attack it had been the Emperor's custom to take his exercise or to go out on informal occasions unattended by guards, but thenceforth he invariably appeared in public with a police or military escort. The fourth attempt was a well-laid plan upon his life. He was returning with his suite from the Crimea to Moscow, traveling with two railway trains, the first carrying the baggage and members of the suite, and the second the Emperor and his immediate household. A short distance from Moscow, the first train being delayed at a station, the Emperor's train took the lead and entered the city without any mishap. The second, which was supposed to contain the Emperor, was wrecked in the suburbs by a dynamite mine and three of the cars containing baggage destroyed, but no lives lost.

The fifth attempt was of a most daring and astounding character. It occurred in the Winter Palace on the night of

the fifth of February, 1880, only a few weeks before my arrival in St. Petersburg. It was the habit of the Emperor to dine at six o'clock, and on this night the dinner was to have been attended by a distinguished company, among them some of the Imperial Grand Dukes, the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, and Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, then on a visit to the Emperor, and Prince Alexander of Hesse, who was to arrive on the evening train. The train being delayed, the dinner was postponed a short time in consequence. Precisely at six o'clock a terrific explosion immediately under the imperial dining-room startled not only all the inmates of the palace, but the neighboring precincts of the city. The explosives were in the cellar, and the first room above it containing the guard was wrecked, killing ten of the guard and wounding all the rest, about forty in number, and the floor of the dining-room on the next story above was blown in, all the china and glass on the dining-table shattered, and the silver-plate twisted. No one was in this room at the time.

The precision with which the explosion was timed made it evident that the plotters of the deed were well informed as to the habits of the imperial family. A searching investigation which followed revealed a strange condition of affairs in the palace. Lord Dufferin, who was in the Capital at the time, relates that the investigation disclosed the fact that the whole basement story of that enormous palace was occupied by a large population of artisans, moujiks, laborers, and dependants, amongst whom it is evident the conspirators would have little difficulty in insinuating themselves. A clearance of the Augean stable, although all too late, was immediately executed, and it was said that the attics presented the same cosmopolitan spectacle, including amongst their nondescript inhabitants several sheep and a cow!

These last three plots upon the Emperor's life occurring within less than twelve months, and followed the next year by the final successful assault, led some of the press in their

ALEXANDER II

Emperor of Russia

comments upon the assassination to recall the noted classical passage of the Roman historian Suetonius, in his vivid description of the Emperor Caligula, haunted by night and by day by the fear of assassination. But the life of Alexander can furnish no parallel to that of the miserable coward and inhuman monster of Rome. Alexander had shown much self-possession in the repeated murderous attacks, and continued to go in and out among his people unattended by guards until forced by his Ministers to accept them. On the fatal day of his enemies' triumph, his wife, warned by General Loris Melikoff, Minister of the Interior, that a new conspiracy was planned for his assassination, begged him to remain in the palace, but he refused to be turned aside from his accustomed duties and went forth to meet his appointment.

On March 13, 1881, the Emperor, as was his practice on Sunday forenoons, went to the riding-school of the Palace of Engineers, an immense building suitable for the manœuvres of four or five thousand troops, to witness the review of a part of the St. Petersburg garrison. He left the review about one o'clock and drove to the Michel Palace, where he made a short call on his niece, the Grand Duchess Catherine, and then continued in his closed carriage on his return to the Winter Palace. Just before crossing the stable bridge of the Catherine Canal, at 1.45 P.M., a hand-bomb was thrown by a young man, dressed in the garb of a street-cleaner, directly under the Emperor's carriage, shattering in its explosion the rear of the vehicle, but without injuring the Emperor.

Against the remonstrance of the officer of the guard, he alighted from the carriage, saying he must look to the care of the wounded lying about on the ground. While the assailant was being arrested, a second bomb, thrown by another young man, was exploded at the feet of the Emperor, horribly shattering both his legs, tearing open his abdomen, and inflicting other serious wounds on his person. He was placed in the sleigh of the military officer who accompanied him and

driven immediately to the Winter Palace. The loss of blood was so great and the wounds were so severe that he expired at 3.35 P.M., within less than two hours after the explosion.

One soldier was instantly killed, three or four others, including the second assailant, were mortally wounded, and several bystanders, guards and citizens collected after the explosion of the first bomb, were more or less severely wounded. Among the latter was the music-teacher of my daughters, a Frenchman, who chanced to be passing by, and had his face horribly disfigured.

A report of the assassination was soon brought to me by one of my servants who was on the streets at the time, and I went at once to the palace to confirm it. I there met General von Schweinitz, the German Ambassador, just descending the Emperor's stairway, from whom I learned some of the details of the awful tragedy. I communicated the event without delay to the Secretary of State at Washington, and when the death occurred I sent a second cable message. It illustrates the difference in time of the two capitals to state that the first message was delivered to Secretary Blaine at 12.14 P.M. and the second at 12.25 P.M., when, as noted, the assault occurred at 1.45 P.M., and the death at 3.35 P.M. These messages carried the sad news to America several hours in advance of any other source of intelligence. Mrs. Blaine, in one of her published letters, referring to the sadness of the visit of the Russian Minister to the Blaine residence to see these messages, wrote: "All the news there was, for hours, was contained in the telegrams to the Secretary of State. Poor Emperor, dogged to his death at last!"

The event created a profound sensation throughout the civilized world, and in no country were there more sincere expressions of grief and sympathy than in the United States. President Garfield, through Secretary Blaine, sent me by cable a touching message of condolence to be communicated to the new Emperor; the Senate (the House not being then

in session) passed appropriate resolutions of sympathy, which were cabled me in full for delivery; and Secretary Blaine instructed me by mail to ask an audience of Alexander III, in order, in a more formal and amplified manner, to convey to him the sympathy of the Government and people of the United States. The assassination of President Lincoln was still fresh in the minds of Americans, the memory of which would naturally form a bond of grief with a nation bowed down with a similar calamity; besides, Alexander II was regarded as the one great sovereign of Europe who had been a friend of the North during the Civil War, and his death came as a personal loss to every lover of the Union.

The funeral services over the body of the dead Emperor continued through two weeks, and were of the most imposing character. Probably no mortal ever received a more regal interment. He died in his own bedchamber, and the body remained in the Winter Palace for five days, during which religious services, attended by the imperial family and their households, were held almost continually. On the fifth day imperial couriers passed through the principal streets of the Capital and announced that the body of Alexander II, of immortal memory, would be transferred to its final resting-place on the next day. Meanwhile there had been brought from Moscow the Holy Banner of Russia, the mourning regalia, and other requisite paraphernalia.

On March 19, the funeral cortège was formed in accordance with the imperial programme which had been published in the "Official Journal." The procession consisted of thirteen sections, subdivided into one hundred and seventy-six divisions, composed of the various departments of Government and societies of the Capital and the many delegations which had been sent up from all parts of the Empire. The firing of a volley of artillery from the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul was the signal for assembling the cortège; a second volley was the signal for its formation; and a third for its march,

when all the church-bells of the city began to sound, interspersed with artillery firing from all the forts.

The twelfth section was one of the most noticeable. It was under the Grand Master of Ceremonies, and in it were borne on cushions of gold cloth, with silver fringe, each carried by an officer, first, all the foreign orders and decorations which had been conferred on Alexander II, fifty-seven in all from thirty-six different countries; second, the orders and decorations belonging to him from the Empire of Russia; and third, the crowns of the Empire as follows, of the Kingdom of Georgia, of Tartary, of Siberia, of Poland, of Astrakhan, of Kazan, the Imperial Globe, the Imperial Sceptre, and, last, the Imperial Crown.

In the thirteenth section was the funeral car containing the body of the dead Emperor, followed by the reigning Emperor, his sons, the Grand Dukes and Imperial Princes, all on foot, followed by the Empress and other female members of the imperial family in carriages. A double file of soldiers accompanied the procession, and the entire route of march from the Winter Palace to the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul was lined with soldiers on both sides.

The cortège passed from the Winter Palace along the intervening streets and across the Neva to the imposing Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was to be the final resting-place of the dead Emperor. I give an account of the ceremonies in the cathedral on that day, from a letter written by Mrs. Foster just after they took place, which gives more accurately the details than I could recall them now: —

The Diplomatic Corps were invited to be at the cathedral at 11.30 A.M., but we waited there till 2 P.M. before all the procession arrived and the ceremonies began. The cathedral was most elaborately and beautifully decorated, and one might easily have imagined it the *coronation* instead of the *burial* of a monarch. In the centre of the cathedral a platform

was raised and covered with scarlet cloth trimmed with gold. From the high ceiling hung rich curtains of silver sheen lined with ermine and bordered with wide gold fringe. These were looped back at the four corners, in which were placed the imperial arms and portraits of the late Emperor surrounded with crêpe, and the top was surmounted with huge white ostrich feathers.

Immediately in the centre of this platform was placed the coffin, and at the head and foot were placed all the crowns, orders, and decorations of Alexander II. These were carried in on yellow satin pillows by officials and placed on the stands set for them. They were very numerous, but, alas! those things which had commanded such attention and been kept with so much pride by the silent sleeper had to be left behind — he could take none of them with him to the other world.

On the right of the platform stood the new Emperor and Empress, with their two oldest sons, Nicholas [the present Czar], aged 13, and George, his brother. The two little boys were dressed in military uniforms. By the side of the Empress stood the Duchess of Edinburgh, the only daughter of the late Emperor; then came the wife of Vladimir and the wives of the late Emperor's brothers. Opposite them were the four sons of the dead Emperor, and with them the Duke of Edinburgh. Just below the platform were all the brothers, nephews, and other relatives of the imperial family.

The ladies wore plain black flannel dresses with trains four yards long, each one having three uniformed attendants bearing their trains; long veils of black crêpe falling over the head behind; and white collars and cuffs of batiste or fine linen cambric. Over their shoulders they wore a wide red ribbon, showing a royal order. The gentlemen of the imperial family were dressed in military uniforms, with a wide watered blue ribbon across the shoulder. The members of the Diplomatic Corps were all in gay uniforms. I, together with all the ladies of the Diplomatic Corps, wore a plain black cashmere,

with a court train three yards long; a crêpe veil made into a cap on the head and falling three yards behind over the gown; and white collars and cuffs of linen cambric, which is considered the deepest mourning. Crêpe was on every left arm, but only the long flowing black robes of the ladies gave any appearance of mourning.

Every one stood during the services, consisting of prayers, which few understood, and chants. The music, which occupied much of the time, was exceedingly beautiful. The male voices (you know that only male voices are used in the Russian churches) were so carefully trained, and the choir placed so high above the audience, the music as it floated down seemed as if coming from the heavens. The services were quite long and the only rest for our tired feet was in kneeling during the prayers, holding meanwhile a lighted candle in our hands.

When the religious services were concluded, all the members of the imperial family, in order of rank, went up to the coffin and kissed the hands and the forehead of the dead Emperor, and then slowly left the cathedral. Then came the *wife* of the late Emperor (whom he married last August, but who has never been proclaimed Empress), knelt by the side of the coffin, kissing the floor, and then the hands and forehead of the Emperor. Afterwards came the ladies of the Court and the members of the Diplomatic Corps, all of us kissing his hands. A heavy rich cloth of gold was thrown over the lower part of the coffin, so that we saw only the face and hands. The face was peaceful and not at all disfigured.

As no one was admitted to the cathedral except the imperial family, the courtiers, and the Diplomatic Corps, there was no crowding, and we had a fine opportunity to see everything. The floral decorations consisted of white roses and evergreens and were beautiful. Having remained in the cathedral standing for nearly four hours, we reached home quite fatigued.

The final services will take place next Sunday, just two weeks from the day of the assassination.

We are to go into mourning for six months, including our carriage, the *chasseur*, coachman, and even the horses. An official circular has been sent to the Diplomatic Corps, prescribing the costume to be worn by the ladies. The duration of mourning is divided into four periods of six weeks each, with a change of dress or costume for each quarter. . . .

The body lay in state during the week in the cathedral, and was visited during certain hours of each day by enormous crowds of people. The imperial regalia, orders, and decorations remained about the coffin, which bore a simple inscription on a gold plate of the birth, accession to the throne, and death of Alexander II. Four general aides-de-camp stood constantly at each corner of the platform close to the coffin, and priests with lighted tapers continually chanted the Scriptures and prayers. The stream of people who passed into the cathedral mounted the platform between the officers, reverently bent over and kissed the hands and made the sign of the cross. Many, not being able to restrain their feelings, left the church in tears.

The day before the final interment heralds, with flourish of trumpets, went before all the palaces and into all public places in the Capital and announced that at 10.30 o'clock the next morning would take place the burial of Alexander II, of glorious and imperishable memory. No public procession or open pageant of any kind marked the last funeral rites of the departed sovereign. At a signal of three guns from the cathedral fortress at half-past ten, carriages were seen departing from the Winter Palace and other imperial houses en route to the cathedral, in a blinding snowstorm which obscured the face of the sky and cast a sombre hue over the Capital — a fit day for the final honors to its stricken monarch.

The scene in the cathedral was much the same as on the day of the translation of the body, except that the company which stood about the coffin was made still more distinguished by the representatives of all the crowned heads of Europe who had come to pay their last tribute of respect and grief to the fallen Emperor. Among these were the Prince of Wales, now Edward VII, the Crown Prince of Germany, afterwards the Emperor Frederick, and other heirs-apparent who later became prominent as rulers. Among the illustrious ones standing near together were the two Danish sisters — the Princess of Wales, now Queen Alexandra, tall, fair, and stately, and the Czarina Dagmar, dark and small of stature, now Dowager Empress, oppressed with anxiety for her son the reigning sovereign, Nicholas II.

After the prolonged and impressive funeral service of the Greek Church had been concluded, the members of the imperial house, beginning with the Emperor, approached the coffin and each kissed the hands and forehead of their late sire, the Emperor especially being deeply moved and bending several times over the body. He then folded the imperial mantle of gold and ermine into the coffin, and eight generals brought forward the lid with the late Emperor's sword and helmet upon it. When the lid had been properly fastened, the Emperor, the grand dukes, and the foreign princes raised the coffin from the catafalque and bore it to the grave, only a few yards to the left and next the tomb of the late Empress.

As the remains were gradually lowered into the grave, the cannon of the fortress and the field artillery in the courtyard suddenly broke the solemn stillness by a deafening volley, repeated six times, the intervals being filled up by the rolling fire of musketry. During these martial honors, the members of the imperial family, the foreign princes, and other special representatives of courts, and the Diplomatic Corps filed past the open grave, and each of us, according to the Russian cus-

tom, threw in a little sand and a few flowers, and then passed out of the cathedral, leaving the once mighty autocrat and the great emancipator, "after life's fitful fever," to sleep quietly with his fathers.

The Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul is the mausoleum in which are buried the remains of Peter the Great and his successors, and in it are placed the keys, standards, shields, and battle-axes, the trophies of Russian arms in the wars against the Swedes, Turks, Asiatic States, Poles, and French. It is situated upon the island where Peter lived while he was building his capital; it was erected under his direction, and is especially conspicuous among the many churches of the city for its graceful and gilded needle-like spire which rises three hundred and seventy-one feet above the Neva. It stands within the walls of the famous fortress-prison where for two centuries the state offenders have been incarcerated. In one of its dreary casemates Alexis, the oldest son of Peter the Great, was confined and met his sudden death. Here the conspirators of 1825 were kept, and in the time of Alexander II many of those who plotted against his life and his government were shut up to await a lingering death. Over it more than over any other imperial dungeon has there rested a veil of mystery and silence.

The Government and people have done much to keep fresh and green the memory of their martyr Emperor. The most conspicuous evidence is the imposing Memorial Church of the Resurrection, erected over the spot where he fell mortally wounded, with its group of cupolas of blue and green and white and gold, erected by the contributions of the people of the Empire and the imperial family. In it even the paving-stones which were stained with his blood are carefully preserved.

The private apartment which he occupied in the Winter Palace is also kept with great care just as he left it. There in the recess is the narrow iron bed upon which he slept and

to which he was brought mangled and bleeding to breathe out the last spark of life. The half-smoked cigarette which he laid on the ash-tray when he went out on that fatal Sunday morning is carefully covered by a glass globe. His small ivory-handled revolver which he carried in his pocket that day is lying on the table. The toilet articles, half-worn, are as he left them. The books on the library shelves, more or less used, show his taste in reading. At the foot of the camp-bed hangs the portrait of a little daughter who died in infancy, and the last clothes she wore, which he always kept in view, still lie there neatly folded, a touching revelation of his tender affection. The general aspect of the room shows how simply the mighty monarch lived.

To complete the narrative of this awful tragedy I cannot do better than reproduce a private letter which I wrote to Secretary Blaine, giving my impressions at the time. It bears date March 21, 1881, and is as follows: —

I have kept and shall continue to keep the Department fully advised of all that relates to the assassination of the Emperor, so far as it has official or public interest. But I have thought you might be interested in some details and comments, which I do not choose to put on record or in official form, on an event which must be one of the most memorable of the country.

On yesterday I participated with the Diplomatic Corps in the pageant and religious ceremony of the transfer of the late Emperor's body from the Winter Palace to the fortress cathedral, where he is to lie in state until finally interred next Sunday, the 27th. I had when I came here, in common with most Americans, a high regard for Alexander II as the Czar Emancipator and Reformer, and my personal contact with him has strengthened this sentiment and impressed upon me his great kindliness of heart and frankness of character. He cherished an unmistakable friendship for the

United States, and never failed to refer to it in his interviews. The last time I conversed with him, after inquiring in some detail as to how I was occupying my time and how I was pleased with my residence in Russia, referring to the two nations, he said, in parting, "Let us hope that our *old* friendship may long continue."

With this high estimate of the ruler and attachment to the man, I have been surprised at the apparently comparative indifference with which his assassination has been received. Contrasted with the thrill of horror, indignation, and sympathy which ran through our country when Lincoln fell, the outward manifestation in this city amounts to nothing. A short time after I had sent you my telegram announcing the Emperor's death, I took my customary afternoon walk around the Winter Palace and along some of the most frequented streets of the city. Before the palace in the immense square were gathered in squads a few thousand people and rather more than the Sunday afternoon throng on the streets, but there appeared a general feeling of indifference and very little emotion. You might have thought the crowds were waiting to see some of the imperial family or a regiment of soldiers pass, rather than gathered to mourn over their murdered Emperor. In the crowds I saw an occasional old woman wipe away a stray tear, but more often quiet laughter and commonplace joking, as is usual in ordinary assemblages of the middle or lower classes. The same impression has been made upon most observing foreigners. There has been deep sorrow doubtless, but not to the extent that would have been expected.

The ceremony yesterday was quite a pageant, but there was very little of the air of oppressive grief. In the cathedral, where we spent two hours awaiting the arrival of the corpse and the imperial family, everything was done in the most matter-of-fact manner, and with little more gravity than in the preparations for a reception in the palace.

This is due in part to the strict police and military surveillance and the spirit of popular repression which has reigned here for the past few years. The whole course of the long procession yesterday was lined by a double column of soldiers; on the route of the march no window was allowed to be opened or balcony occupied; and in the cathedral a circle of soldiers, fully armed and with fixed bayonets, enclosed and shut off the imperial household and the diplomatic corps from the rest of the assembly, all of whom were officials and they only admitted by card.

It is sadly apparent that Alexander II, who I think will be recorded in history as, not the greatest but the *best* of Russia's rulers, had lost in popularity and public esteem. I find two reasons for this state of public sentiment — the one political and the other domestic. He entered upon his reign with earnest liberal intentions, as was shown in the judicial reforms, the beginning of the reorganization of the corrupt administration of government, and the emancipation of the serfs. But the attempts upon his life which began fifteen years ago somewhat soured his temper, and the herculean task of reforming the bureaucracy discouraged and wearied him, and of late years he almost abandoned the latter task, and recoiled from and in large measure gave up the liberal work of the earlier years of his reign.

But he could not change or curb the spirit of reform and progress which these measures had encouraged and created, and it was natural that his course should occasion a deep disappointment. I do not think the Nihilist movement embraces a very numerous party, nor are their violent measures approved by any considerable portion of the nation, but it is one of the outgrowths of autocracy, and it cannot be stamped out while such a system of government continues.

There is, on the other hand, a strong undercurrent of sentiment in the middle and upper classes in favor of some form of representative government, and of placing Russia along-

side of the rest of Europe and more in harmony with the politics of the present century. Regarding the autocratic Czar as the personal impediment to this realization, his removal by violent means, while not approved, does not awaken that outburst of indignation and sympathy which the assassination of a representative ruler ordinarily would.

The other fact, which has undoubtedly tempered the grief of the people in this terrible event, has been the well-known domestic relations which have been maintained in the late Emperor's household. The Russians may not be overly nice in their personal observance of the marital vows, but the treatment received by the slowly-dying Empress, a woman of most unexceptionable private life and kindliness of nature, the keeping of his mistress in the palace at such a time and his early marriage to her after the death of the Empress, and the troubles in the imperial family as a consequence — these matters have been the topic of conversation in all circles, and have had an unmistakable influence in altering the high public esteem in which the late Emperor was held.

The great question now here and elsewhere in Europe is how the accession of Alexander III may affect internal and foreign affairs. It is a question which I think need give us no concern. I am satisfied the new Emperor heartily partakes of the friendship of the nation for our country. Not long ago, when I had the honor of a private audience of him and the Empress, while he was yet Czarevitch, he spoke in kindly terms of us and made particular inquiries in regard to (the then) President-elect Garfield; so that I fortunately had a more unrestrained opportunity than I can have, now that he has become Emperor, to make him somewhat acquainted with the head of our Government.

He is a great *Russian*, and will seek in internal affairs to exalt his race characteristics and institutions. For instance, while the late Emperor almost always spoke French in his

family and among his intimates, the present Emperor has insisted upon the use of the Russian language in not only family, but in social and official circles. . . . He is credited with a fair degree of intellectual capacity, coupled with a certain fixedness of character sometimes styled stubbornness, and it is fair to predict that he will play an important rôle in national history and European politics, unless the conspirators shorten his reign, which it is understood they threaten to do if his course does not please them.

This letter, written in the midst of the exciting scenes which it describes, does not give an entirely correct view of the character and services of Alexander II. I was then standing too near to the subject and saw in a somewhat garish light his frailties and mistakes. The men who lived in the time of Abraham Lincoln and were associated with him did not realize then as to-day they and the new generations do his majestic character. Alexander was amiable, easy-going, and wanting in tenacity of purpose. Those characteristics led his father, the stout Nicholas, to say of him, "My son Sasha is a *baba* [old woman]; there will be nothing great done in his time." But this very tenderness of heart was one of the controlling influences which led him to the grandest act ever done by a Russian ruler and one of the grandest in the annals of time.

The act which in the judgment of mankind most ennobles Lincoln and entitles him to immortal fame was the emancipation of the slaves during our Civil War. Yet compare it with Alexander's great act of emancipation. Lincoln proclaimed freedom to four millions of human beings held in bondage by his enemies in arms, and, as a military necessity, to break the power of his country's foes. Alexander, in a time of profound peace and by his own unconstrained free will, gave freedom to twenty-three millions of slaves, held in bondage by his own family and the nobility, who were his

most devoted supporters, and made these freedmen the owners of the soil they tilled.

Aside from this unparalleled deed of humanity, Alexander II must be regarded as the most progressive and liberal ruler that ever sat upon the Russian throne. It is true he halted in his great work of reform, largely influenced by the almost insurmountable difficulties which he encountered, and partly by the persistent attempts upon his life, but some of his reform measures became permanent, and in his reign his country made greater advance in intelligence and material well-being than under any of his predecessors. Had his successors on the throne been wise enough to have adopted his policy and carried to perfection the measures inaugurated by him, that great empire would have been saved much of the humiliation which it has been forced to undergo and the turmoil and disorders through which it has had to pass in later years.

CHAPTER XVI

RUSSIA UNDER ALEXANDER III

On the same afternoon that Alexander II died, his son the Czarevitch assumed the supreme power of the Empire as Alexander III, and his proclamation of accession to the throne was published the next morning. After announcing the death of his father by "the sacrilegious hand of assassins," the proclamation said: —

Bowing before the mysterious decrees of Divine Providence, and raising to the All-Powerful our prayers for the pure soul of our deceased father, we ascend the throne of our ancestors, the throne of the Empire of Russia. . . .

We assume the heavy burden which it has pleased the Lord to impose upon us with an immovable confidence in His all-powerful aid. May he bless our labors for the good of our dear country and direct our efforts for the happiness of our faithful subjects.

After the repeated attempts upon his life, Alexander II in 1880 appointed General Loris Melikoff Minister of the Interior, and conferred upon him dictatorial powers in the internal affairs of the Empire. These powers he had exercised with rare good judgment and in such a liberal spirit that he had gained in large measure the public confidence and support. It is an accepted fact that Melikoff had prepared a new measure of reform for the Empire which has been erroneously styled a constitution. Its chief provisions enlarged the scope of the provincial representative assemblies, or *zemstva*, which had been created early in Alexander's

reign, granting them greater powers of taxation for local improvements, and giving them in other respects authority to act independent of the Central Government.

The result of the operation of this proposed reform would have been to put Russia in the path leading eventually to a constitutional and representative government. Melikoff found in the Emperor's morganatic wife a strong supporter of his scheme, as she was credited with liberal ideas and was wise enough to see that such a policy was the best method of protecting her husband from the hand of the assassin. Alexander II had been won over to the measure, and it is said that the ukase which was to give it effect had been drafted and was laid upon his table for signature on the very morning of his death. So fully was the public satisfied that it was the purpose of the late Czar to carry out this reform that the press of St. Petersburg immediately after his death was almost unanimous in the demand that measures looking towards a representative government be adopted by the new Czar.

Seldom has the work of the political assassin promoted the good of the people. When the dagger of Ravaillac struck down Henry IV, it removed the most enlightened and liberal ruler of France just as he was entering upon a career of great usefulness. Booth's pistol ended Lincoln's life at a time when he could have best served the people of the South. The bomb of the conspirators in St. Petersburg, who claimed to be laboring for the freedom of Russia, stayed the work of reform and threw the country into a long period of reaction.

Alexander III, as Czarevitch, was understood to have disapproved of the repressive measures of the latter part of his father's reign, and the hope was cherished that he would be governed by the conciliatory policy of Melikoff. But the cruel assassination of his father worked strongly upon his austere mind and brought about a revulsion in

his feelings, which resulted in the adoption of a policy of reaction. The influence which contributed most to bring about this change was that of his tutor, M. Pobiedonostseff, the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod and the political head of the Established Greek Church. He soon gained complete ascendency over the new Emperor, which continued throughout his reign. His political ideal was a nation containing one nationality, one language, one religion, and one form of administration; and he sought to inject these ideas into the new Government.

Within a few weeks after the change of rulers Loris Melikoff retired from office and Count Ignatieff was called to his place. These two men for a number of years were the conspicuous figures in Russian affairs, and each for a time ruled the destinies of his country. I had occasion to visit each of them a number of times on business and was also brought in contact with them socially. Both of them possessed a singular fascination of manner which in large part explains the friendship and confidence which they so completely won from their sovereigns. Melikoff was born at Tiflis and belonged to that keen and wily race, the Armenian. He was a soldier by profession and won great distinction and rendered valuable service in the field, before he was called to bear the burdens of the Empire. His policy in that capacity was such that he drew from the Nihilists the title of "the enlightened despot."

Ignatieff, although he bore the title of general, had seen little real military service, and he attained his chief distinction in diplomacy. His first important achievement was at Peking. He knew how to profit by the Anglo-French war against China of 1858–60, and in the distress of the Chinese he added by his celebrated treaty a region to the Russian dominions the size of Spain and gained a new port on the Pacific. It was Ignatieff whose good offices our Government sought to aid our Minister, Mr. Ward, at that time in Peking

fruitlessly arguing against the *kowtow*. His second diplomatic feat was as Ambassador at Constantinople, where he was successful, against the judgment of the Emperor and Gortchakoff, in precipitating the Turkish war, and in negotiating the treaty of San Stefano. But that work was undone by the Conference of Berlin, and, for a time in disgrace, he went into retirement. "I am going into my shell," he told his friends, "but you will hear of me when the Czarevitch comes to the throne," and his prediction was realized.

As a diplomatist he gained both distinction and notoriety. His service as such was largely among the Orientals. At Constantinople he succeeded in outwitting them in their craft, and they complimented him with the title of "The Father of Lies." Bismarck, who was largely instrumental in his overthrow at the Berlin Conference, is credited with the remark respecting him: "The report goes that he told the truth once in his life, but I have never heard him do so." As Chancellor of the Empire his policy was reactionary, but his shifty ways and duplicity made his term of service of short duration, and he was forced to give place to even more aggressive partisans.

In the United States the death of a President or a change in the chief magistracy is not notified to other Governments, as the rule of the people is held to be continuous, but the practice is different in the monarchical countries of Europe. On the death of Alexander II and the accession of his son to the throne special ambassadors were dispatched to the leading capitals of that continent to make known the fact, and official dispatches to that end were sent by mail to all the Governments having diplomatic relations with Russia. It also became necessary for all resident ambassadors and ministers to procure letters of credence to the new monarch.

When I received my new credentials from President Gar-

field, the Emperor had gone to one of his country palaces, Gatchina, twenty-eight miles from St. Petersburg on the railway to Berlin, and I went to that place to present them. A letter dated at St. Petersburg May 19, 1881, which I wrote to my wife, then in Paris, gives the details of that visit, which I reproduce: —

I am back from Gatchina after my audience of the Emperor. It was quite an affair. At the railway station I was shown into the imperial waiting-rooms, where were also the Persian Prince and his suite, who had been sent by the Shah to congratulate the Emperor on his accession to the throne; a Montenegrin delegation of ten officials, dressed in brigand-looking uniforms, very showy and each carrying a regular arsenal of sword, daggers, and two or three pistols; the Marquis R—— taking his leave, and the new Spanish Minister presenting his credentials; two or three members of the Cabinet, General Loris Melikoff, who has just resigned, the Masters of Ceremonies, and other officials of the Court.

We were taken to Gatchina in a train of imperial cars, the Spanish Ministers and myself occupying one. On arrival at the Gatchina Station we were driven in court carriages to the palace and shown to our apartments. Mine was a large parlor and bedroom fitted up in summer style. After near an hour's rest and waiting, a part of which I spent in the parlor of the Spanish Ministers near by, the Master of Ceremonies announced that the hour had arrived for the presentations. We were conducted from our part of the palace to that of the Emperor in the other extreme, through a great number of rooms, halls, and stairways. It is the largest of the imperial palaces I have seen, next to the Winter Palace, and is said to contain six hundred and eighty-five rooms. Some of the halls are quite attractive, but not so grand as those we saw at Moscow. One long hall is fitted

with Chinese vases, cups, and porcelain of all descriptions, the most extensive collection I have seen.

The Emperor kept us waiting in the antechamber nearly an hour. It was a busy day with him, as several of his Cabinet Ministers were out to confer with him. The Persian Prince and his suite in gala costume were first received; then the Montenegrin delegation, swords, pistols, and all; afterwards myself; and last the Spanish Ministers. I had quite a talk with the Czar, first delivering my new credentials, then the special message of sympathy from the President on the death of his father, and then of congratulation on his accession and good wishes for his reign. He spoke very kindly of our nation, as was his father's custom.

I was not so well impressed with him at this interview as at the former one when in the Anitchkoff Palace as Czarevitch. I fear Hoffman's [the Secretary of Legation] unfavorable estimate of him is not far out of the way. He has neither the vivacity of intellect nor the warm-hearted manner of his father. He labored under some embarrassment in the interview, as he spoke English, which he does not use very fluently; but he seemed to me *heavy*. He apologized for keeping us waiting and appeared to make an effort to be agreeable.

Afterwards we were all conducted to the apartments of the Empress, on the lower floor and in another part of the palace, through other suites of rooms, one of the largest of which was the children's playroom. At one end of it was a small stage for theatricals; in another part of it billiard-tables and other games; some sort of ice-hills; elegantly upholstered and cushioned swings, etc.

We went through the same formalities as with the Emperor, a separate audience for each delegation, or minister, those waiting being entertained in the antechamber by the Masters of Ceremonies and two ladies of honor, one quite elderly and the other a young lady, both speaking English

and French. The Empress remembered my former visit very well. I found her much changed in spirit. Before, she was quite gay and cheerful. Now she looked sad, weary, and careworn. In the course of our conversation of less than seven minutes, she referred four times to the "terrible affair," the assassination and its results. Her womanly and tender nature evidently feels it more than the phlegmatic Emperor.

After this audience we were all led back through the whole series of rooms we had traversed before to our apartments, except that Sturmer, Master of Ceremonies (you remember him), took the Spanish Ministers and me into some of the private rooms of the Empress Catherine II, to see some Gobelin tapestries presented to her by Louis XV of France.

Upon our arrival at the palace at ten A. M. we had been served with tea and cakes, but now it was two P. M., and naturally, with all this parading through halls and bowing to royalty, we had gotten up an appetite. So the Persian Prince and his suite and the Montenegrin delegation were served their breakfasts separately in their parlors, and I was asked to join the Spanish Marquises in their parlor. The breakfast or luncheon was nothing extra, not so good as I could get at the restaurant for two roubles, barring the wine, china, silver-plate, etc.

There was a menu on the table when we sat down, but I noticed it disappeared very soon. As it had an imperial coat of arms stamped on it, I thought you would like to have it for your collection, so after the breakfast when I went to my room I asked Schwarze [the Legation *chasseur*], as he was a friend of some of the servants, if he could get it for you. He went out and soon returned with it and I enclose it herewith. He told me after we came home that the head waiter was quite exercised when he heard of it, saying two of the dishes on the menu had not been sent up by the cook, and Schwarze adds that the cooks are paid by the courses

and number of plates, and they cheat the Emperor's guests in this way to make a little extra money!

While I am on this subject I will give you a little more of — what shall I call it, scandal or court etiquette? Well, Schwarze, who understands these matters pretty well, told me the servants would expect some *chi* money. I told him to give them what was right, but he said no, I had better give it to them. Probably if they were not liberal fees, they might think he (Schwarze) had kept half of it for himself. I asked him to whom I should give, as I did not have bills enough to go around for the hundreds of servants I had met in the halls. So he sent to my room, one at a time, those whom I was to *chi*. First in walked the grand and imposing individual with the great plumed and cocked hat, who had marched at the head of our procession of princes, marquises, and ministers plenipotentiary, conducting us through the palace to the Emperor's and Empress's audiences. He took a five-rouble note with great graciousness! Then in came the head waiter who, decorated with medals, had superintended the service of the breakfast; then some other men, I don't know who they were or what they did; and the man who stood at the entrance to my apartment. To these I stingily doled out three roubles each. Then the man who held my overcoat while I put it on; the footman who opened and shut the carriage-door; and the coachman — two roubles each; and I believe I was square with His Imperial Majesty's household!

As my carriage was announced and I went out into the hall, I saw the Marquis R——, pocketbook in hand, surrounded by a crowd of servants and apparently "in a peck of trouble." He called to me at once, and I found they were after their fees, which they thought he was about to depart without leaving. He did not bring his servant with him, and had not gotten the cue, as I had. He wanted to know how much I had paid them. I suppose they had told him

of my liberality! I informed him of the size of my fees and hurried away, leaving him in the hands of the hungry subjects of the Czar.

You may tell this story to my friend and colleague Phelps [William Walter Phelps, en route to his post as Minister at Berlin], but you must be careful it don't get back to St. Petersburg, as I might have a Catacazy affair on my hands.

As I was about to take my carriage the two young sons of the Emperor, the Czarevitch and his brother, rode into the courtyard and dismounted. Their tutor, recognizing me, brought them up and we shook hands and passed a few pleasant words.

Two famous state trials occurred in St. Petersburg during my mission. The first of these took place in November, 1880, and embraced the persons charged with the attempts upon the life of Alexander II in 1879 and 1880; and the second, the trial of those concerned in his assassination, and which took place a short time after that event. The accused were composed exclusively of the extremely revolutionary party known as the Nihilists. Their existence represented little more than a wild and desperate revolt against things as they then were in the social, moral, and political world. Their principles may thus be defined: No more monarchy; no more state religion; no more landed proprietors, but the soil to be free as air, since every one has a right to sustenance; no more armies and administration; kings, soldiers, priests, judges, the rich and privileged, are all enemies of the commonwealth, and as such are to be resisted and exterminated; every public functionary hostile to those designs to be doomed to die. If asked what they expected from their violent and subversive movement, they would answer: "Society cannot punish. The social state which will rise in the place of what we are about to destroy cannot

be worse than what exists. Perish, therefore, the Russia of the Romanoffs!"

These trials were public, persons being admitted by card, and attracted distinguished audiences of public men, diplomats, and representatives of the press. They were conducted with dignity, fairness, and patience. Where the accused were not able to employ counsel, lawyers of standing were assigned by the Government to their defense. On the first trial five were convicted and sentenced to capital punishment; and eleven others were sentenced to labor in the mines for life and for different terms.

The trial developed the fact that the Nihilistic party was composed of only a small band of desperate persons reckless of their lives, but back of them there was a large body of people both in high and low society, discontented with the condition of affairs, and who longed for a representative government and a reform in the administration. It was felt, however, that the punishment of this group of Nihilists would paralyze the extreme action of the conspirators. The correspondent of the London "Times" voiced the hopes of Russian society when, in telegraphing the result of the first trial, he wrote that "their present appearance at the bar of justice will probably be the last we shall have of the party of terror." And yet at that very time the Nihilists were planning the assassination of the Emperor, which was accomplished within less than four months.

In the second trial six persons were found guilty and sentenced to capital punishment, four men and two women. The prosecutor of the Crown was M. Muravieff, who in later years figured prominently in Russian affairs as Minister of Justice. The president of the St. Petersburg Bar was the leading counsel for the prisoners. The most noted character among the accused was a woman, Sophie Perofsky, of aristocratic connections, social position, and superior education, the daughter of a senator and former governor of the

St. Petersburg province. She imbibed socialistic views and for a time devoted herself to relieving distress among the people, as a nurse ministering to the sick and caring for young children, but she became a convert to the Nihilistic doctrines, and from "an angel of peace" she turned to be "an angel of death." It was she who stood watch while the Moscow railway mine was being constructed, and it was said kept a hundred pounds of dynamite under her bed ready to explode and blow herself and associates into eternity if detected. It was she who waved her handkerchief as a signal when the wrong train was blown up. More successful was she when a second time she waved her handkerchief at the Catherine Canal in St. Petersburg to the holder of the bomb which ended the reign of the hunted Autocrat of the Russias.

She was small of stature, with an intellectual face, modest in appearance, and neat in dress. But when she was called upon by the court to speak in her own behalf, she was bold, even audacious, and candid. She made no effort to conceal her opinions or her conduct; she avowed herself a Nihilist and gloried in it; admitted her participation in the assassination; and asked to be dealt with regardless of her sex. The other woman conspirator was a Hebrew girl of education, who had also taken part in the Moscow mine explosion.

After the trial M. de Giers asked me about the details of the trial and execution of Mrs. Surratt for complicity in the assassination of President Lincoln, and as to the practice in the United States respecting the punishment of women convicted of capital crimes. He made the inquiry, he said, because there was a pressure being brought to bear on the Emperor to commute the sentences of the two women. After the execution Baron Jomini of the Foreign Office told me that in hanging the women they "had followed the example of the United States in the case of Mrs. Surratt." I did not fail to tell both him and M. de Giers that

a large part of the people of our country condemned that execution.

The Nihilistic movement developed a striking characteristic of the Russian people — the intellectual superiority and the heroic courage of their women. Two of their greatest sovereigns were Elizabeth and Catherine II. I have mentioned two Russian females, celebrated in politics and diplomacy, brought under my observation. Classed with Sophie Perofsky as Nihilist martyrs were two others who before my time had gained notoriety. The earlier of these, Sophie Bardin, a young lady of noble birth, was arrested and sent to a Siberian prison for disseminating the doctrines of her party. Her eloquent address to the court, which was printed and sold in St. Petersburg by the thousands, closed with prophetic words which have had their fulfillment in later years: "The association will avenge me, and its vengeance will be terrible. Let your hangman and judges massacre and destroy us now, during the time that force is still on your side. We set against you our moral might, and that will triumph. Progress, Liberty, Equality fight for us, and through these ideas no bayonet can thrust."

Still more famous was Vera Sassolitch. Thrown into jail at seventeen because she was the friend of the sister of a well-known Nihilist, where she remained two years without a trial, she was thus driven into the ranks of the conspirators. With great daring she shot a Russian general for his cruelties. His punishment was so deserved that when she pleaded guilty in the court, the jury acquitted her. She was applauded by almost every paper in St. Petersburg, and welcomed in Geneva and Paris by the revolutionary refugees as a heroine. Since that time many female revolutionists have followed the example of these martyrs to their cause.

These instances give some indication of the intellectual and political activity of Russian women. In this connection it may be remarked that in no country of Europe is woman

better protected in her rights or has more avenues of usefulness open to her. The Empress Elizabeth more than a hundred years ago conferred upon her absolute equality of civil rights with man. Marriage deprives no woman of her property. Married women can receive legacies, bequeath property, and deal with their estate in all respects as if they were unmarried. Not the least of the acts of the illustrious reign of Alexander II was the opening of the universities and professions to them. A French writer, who has given much attention to the study of Russian affairs, says: "For intelligence and resolution, as well as for education and the rank she holds in the family, the Russian woman is already the equal of the man. In mind and character she possesses so much strength and energy that, without losing either her grace or her charms, she exercises often a singular and irresistible ascendancy."

One of the most interesting of my experiences during the impressive ceremonies attending the murdered Czar's funeral was the visit to examine the offerings which had been sent from all parts of his Empire and from all the crowned heads and royal families of Europe, and placed on and about his bier as he lay in state in the fortress cathedral. Amid the costly mementoes of sovereigns and the magnificent votive memorials of his subjects, there was seen a simple silver wreath with the inscription upon it, "*To the Czar Civilizer*," which with grateful hands and sorrowful hearts had been borne by a deputation of thirty female physicians. It will enhance our estimate of the great work of humanity which Alexander II did for his people when I add that under his reign women were first permitted to practice the healing art in Europe. Their efficiency and usefulness were first shown in the war with Turkey, and female nurses went to far-off Manchuria to care for the sick and wounded in the war with Japan. During my mission the world was thrilled with admiration at the announcement, in the newspaper account of

the advance of the Russian forces in the Turcoman desert that the Countess Milutine, daughter of a Cabinet Minister, a member of a Red Cross Society, had been severely wounded in the storming of Gheok Tepe in the front rank of the army.

When I passed through London on my way to Russia I met in St. James's Palace the Persian Minister to Great Britain, who expressed to me the desire that our Government would send a representative to his country. I have referred to the presence in St. Petersburg of an Ambassador Extraordinary of the Shah of Persia to congratulate Alexander III on his accession to the throne. This dignitary bore the title of His Highness Siepehsalar-Azam-Hadji-Mirza-Houssein-Kahn, and was a person of intelligence and importance in his own country. Reciprocating a visit which had been made to the Legation, I called upon him, and in the course of the conversation the Prince expressed regret that the United States did not maintain official relations with Persia, notwithstanding a treaty of friendship and commerce existed contemplating such relations. He said that American ships visited the Persian ports and that there were American citizens residing in the country. He added that the most of the latter were missionaries, with whom he had been brought into intimate relations, as he had been appointed not long before to investigate charges preferred against them, which he found to be without foundation, and that they were worthy people. I reported at some length to the Department of State this conversation, and gave an account of the condition of that country. This report was sent to Congress and, I was informed, had an important influence in the creation of a permanent diplomatic mission in Persia.

In the letter to my wife, from which I have already made copious extracts, there is the following paragraph: "The old Prince Oldenburg is dead, and we have to go to the fun-

eral to-morrow in full uniform, and have another two hours' service in the cathedral. What a large experience I am having in the funeral business!" Only a few months before we had attended a brilliant reception and ball given in his palace, and the Prince, although advanced in years and feeble, received his guests in person and was showered with congratulations, for he was probably the most popular and highly esteemed of all the imperial family. He was possessed of great wealth and used it freely for the benefit of the common people in the maintenance of schools, hospitals, and other charities. The present Prince Oldenburg has followed in his father's footsteps and has enlarged his charities. In the Oldenburg Institute more than two thousand boys and girls are taught trades and receive a technical education, more than half of them being furnished with board and lodging, all at the expense of the Prince. He has also established a sort of people's palace, after the one organized by Sir Walter Besant in London, where the poor can obtain for a nominal price food and non-alcoholic drinks, as well as theatrical and musical entertainment.

After the close of the Russo-Japanese War the Prince and Princess were participants in a very melancholy and startling scene on the occasion of the inauguration of a School of Experimental Medicine, endowed by the Prince's munificence. During the exercises General von Launitz was shot by a terrorist, while standing close to the Prince. The Princess believed that it was her husband who had been murdered, and she fell in a swoon from which she never recovered. We hear much of the profligacy and extravagance of the high society of Russia, and it is gratifying to note the humane and liberal acts of this member of the imperial family, and to add that there are many others of the nobility and wealthy in the Empire who devote much of their time and fortunes to the improvement of the condition of their countrymen.

During the summer of 1881 I had planned a trip down the Volga River and into the Caucasus, but just as I was about to set out upon the journey the terrible news of the attempt upon the life of President Garfield on July 2 reached me. During the first weeks of anxiety and surprise, with our President lying between life and death, I did not feel justified in leaving the Capital, and the visit to the interior of the Empire had to be abandoned. It was a sad coincidence that during my comparatively brief residence in St. Petersburg, the head of the state in both countries should be stricken down by the hands of assassins.

In August, 1881, I left the Capital, under a leave of absence, and made a visit to the United States, which proved my farewell to Russia. After reaching home I came to the conclusion that the interests of my family and due consideration for my own future demanded my retirement from office. I had been continuously in the Diplomatic Service for nearly nine years. They had proved very interesting and instructive and I had reason to be satisfied with my labors. But under our system of government I could not hope to make the Diplomatic Service a life career. I was giving to the Government the best years of my life, and I thought it better to choose my own time for retirement than to have it determined by a change of administration.

I had a growing family and I preferred to give them an education in our own country rather than abroad. Financial considerations also influenced my determination. Before entering the Service I had not accumulated a competency, and the salary received from the Government required me to exercise economy in office. I did not consider it either prudent or honest to adopt a style of living beyond my income. I do not advocate large salaries for our diplomatic representatives, but permanent houses should be provided for them, and there should be such a moderate increase in their salaries as would justify men of talents without for-

tunes entering the Service. Lavish display is not becoming in the representatives of a democratic government, but they should be enabled to live comfortably and in becoming style without drawing upon their private means or credit.

Having decided to resume my residence in the United States and give attention to the practice of my profession, I accordingly tendered my resignation on November 1, 1881. Secretary Blaine, immediately after my return, had assured me that it was the wish of both the President and himself that I should remain in the Service either at St. Petersburg or some other post, but I adhered to my desire to retire. The Secretary in accepting my resignation wrote me as follows: —

The reluctance which the Government naturally feels to sever its relations with a valued officer whose zeal and usefulness have been so signally shown in high spheres of duty, joined to the regret which I personally feel on losing your trusted coöperation in carrying out abroad the policy of the Department, would counsel the non-acceptance of your resignation, were it not that I am convinced that the step you take, in obedience to the dictates of private interests, is positive and final on your part.

I therefore accept, in the name of the President, the resignation you now tender. In doing so, permit me to express the deep sense of satisfaction with which the Department looks back on its relations with you, and the unvarying approbation which your official actions have received at its hands during your incumbency of the responsible missions intrusted to you, and to add the regret now felt that you can no longer continue your useful work.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

James G. Blaine.

Russia has not proved such an attractive place for Ameri-

can representatives as to lead many of them to make a long residence there. The cause for this is mainly the climate. The long nights of winter and the long days of summer are both found to be wearisome. The first or second winter, with its gay society, brilliant receptions and balls, and its outdoor sports proves quite enjoyable; but in time the rigor of the climate becomes unwelcome to the people of warmer latitudes.

Nearly a hundred years ago our Minister, the noted lawyer, William Pinkney, wrote that everybody was so kind to them that they almost forgot that the climate did not suit them. We are impressed with the stubborn resolution which led Peter the Great to build his magnificent capital in a swamp on the sixtieth degree of latitude north, but we sympathize with the Russians who long for the day when European politics will allow the occupation of Constantinople, which will prove a more pleasant "window" from which to look out upon the world. Notwithstanding the climate, we found our residence in St. Petersburg very enjoyable, and we left it with the most pleasant memories of our intercourse with its people.

CHAPTER XVII

MY SECOND MISSION TO RUSSIA

SIXTEEN years after the close of my first mission to Russia, I was intrusted by President McKinley with a second mission to the Government of that empire. Although it breaks the continuity of this narrative, and is chronologically out of place, I have thought it better to complete in this order my connection with Russian affairs.

My second mission grew out of the controversy with Great Britain over the protection of the fur-seals in Bering Sea. As that question will be made the subject of a subsequent chapter, I reserve an account of the official acts of this mission to that chapter, and confine the narrative at this time to my social and personal experiences. In view of the fact that in discharge of my duties, I should be brought in contact with the ambassadors of Russia and Great Britain and of the secretaries for foreign affairs of both governments, I was commissioned an "Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary," and intrusted with credential letters addressed to the Queen of Great Britain and the Emperor of Russia.

I sailed from New York on May 19, 1897, accompanied by Mrs. Foster. A short time before sailing I received a telegram, sent from Vancouver, from Chang Yen Hoon, announcing his arrival in that city, en route to London, and asking that arrangements be made for us to cross the Atlantic on the same steamer. He had been the Chinese Minister in Washington for four years, from 1886 to 1890, when I acted as counsel for his legation, and I was again brought into close association with him in 1895, when I went to

Japan and China to aid him as one of the peace commissioners to terminate the war between those countries. For a number of years he was a Minister of the Foreign Office at Peking, and was now on his way to London as the Special Ambassador of the Emperor to Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

He was traveling, as is the custom of the Orientals, in great state, with a numerous retinue of secretaries, officials, and servants, and they attracted great attention on the steamer. His chief secretary had been educated in the United States, had filled a number of important posts, and later as Sir Chentung Liang Cheng filled the place of Minister to the United States for several years with much usefulness to his Government and credit to himself. The ambassador and his suite showed themselves quite friendly to their fellow passengers. A young lady just fresh from Vassar College inquired of me if they were intelligent, seemingly regarding them as semi-barbarians. I introduced her to one of the junior secretaries, the son of Marquis Tseng, my colleague at St. Petersburg. After long conversations with him, she came to me in perfect amazement. She had never met such an intelligent young man. Why, she found him much better versed in classic English literature than herself, and he had all our great poets on his tongue's end!

We made only a short stay in London, as I was desirous of reaching St. Petersburg before the official vacation and the summer hegira from St. Petersburg began. Every one was absorbed in the coming Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria and the festivities were just beginning. Among these entertainments, we were bidden to, what the Lord Chamberlain styled in his invitation, "An Evening Party," at Buckingham Palace, which was a full-dress state concert, presided over for the Queen by the (then) Prince and Princess of Wales. All the high dignitaries were in attendance, and conspicuous in the front row of the duchesses sat the young Duchess of Marlborough (*née* Vanderbilt) ablaze with

jewels, her diamond tiara apparently too heavy for her slight form, she all unconscious of the sorrows in store for her.

A supper followed, during which Mrs. Foster was honored with a presentation to the Princess Alexandra; and the Prince of Wales (Edward VII), to whom I had been presented on a previous visit, held quite a conversation with me, inquiring about the object of my mission, affairs in the United States, etc. He impressed me as a man of only fair ability, not greatly oppressed with the cares of state, but not likely to do any imprudent acts as sovereign.

En route to St. Petersburg we stopped over two days at Berlin. Ambassador Uhl, who was just retiring with the out-going Cleveland Administration, was kind and attentive and made our brief stay very pleasant. Our attendance at the German opera impressed us with two things — first, the great devotion of the Germans to music, — they attend the opera to enjoy the music, not for social gayety, and they give it their undivided attention; second, the early hours they keep — the opera began at seven o'clock, and we were back at our hotel before eleven.

We were fortunate in being able to attend a great military review for which Germany is so famous, Ambassador Uhl securing for our carriage a place in the ambassadorial line near to the imperial headquarters. Both the Emperor William and the Empress were mounted and were active during the review. The Empress wore a white cloth dress, with a military hat, and made an attractive appearance on horseback. The Emperor appeared small of stature, but carried himself well and showed a soldierly bearing. We recalled the fact that we last saw his father the Emperor Frederick, when as Crown Prince he reviewed the Spanish troops at Madrid fourteen years before.

We noticed a great improvement in the railway service since our first journey to St. Petersburg. A train is taken at Calais, with comfortable sleeping-cars and a well-appointed

dining-car, which runs without change to the Russian frontier. There a transfer to another train is made necessary by the difference in gauge of the Russian railways. The only merit of this system of gauge is a military one, as it would prevent the use of the Russian roads by their western neighbors in time of war.

The ride from the frontier to St. Petersburg presented the same features as it did sixteen years earlier. The trains moved along at the same deliberate speed, the express rarely exceeding twenty miles an hour. There was the same dreary expanse of poor lands, birch and fir forests, with occasional unattractive towns, till we drew into the station at St. Petersburg. Peter the Great's northern capital was little changed, except that it had grown considerably in population. The Nevsky Prospect and the other broad avenues were even more bustling and gay than formerly. The vast Winter Palace wore its accustomed sombre aspect. The cathedrals and churches, with their Oriental architecture, and their domes and spires glittering in blue and green-and-gold, still possessed their charm. The drive through the islands park continued to attract the high society, with the draw-up at "The Point" to listen to the music of the military bands and to see the sun still high above the waters of the Gulf as midnight approached. The "white nights" of June, with the full moon added to the panorama, still filled the parks as late as ten and eleven o'clock with joyous children. It was the same great city which years before had proved so strange and attractive to us.

The intervening years had brought a complete change in the official personnel of the Government. A new czar was ruling the nation. My friend Prince Lieven had given place as Grand Master of Ceremonies to Prince Dolgorouki. In the Foreign Office where M. de Giers had so often welcomed me, I found Count Mouravieff, a member of the great family of that name which had done so much for the glory and en-

largement of the Empire. He had the reputation of being a very clever diplomat, but contrary opinions were entertained as to his character. Bitter opposition was shown to his promotion to the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, but he had an influential advocate in the person of the Dowager Empress, with whom he had formed a warm friendship when he for so many years represented his country at the court of her father in Copenhagen. He received me very kindly, readily took up with me the business of my special mission, and dispatched it with promptness and to my entire satisfaction.

The year following my visit it fell to the lot of Count Mouravieff to be a conspicuous participant in one of the most important and far-reaching proceedings in modern diplomatic history — the convocation by Nicholas II of the first Peace Conference at The Hague. The rescript of the Emperor was written by the Count. Its statement of the blessings of peace, the evil effects of the vast military establishments of the Great Powers, and the desirability of the limitation of armaments, have never been more eloquently or forcefully portrayed. It entitles him to imperishable fame as a diplomatist and friend of peace. I was much grieved at his untimely death not long afterwards, thus cutting short a useful public career.

The Empress Dowager, the Princess Dagmar of Denmark, known in Russia by her marital name of Marie Feodorovna, has been an important personage in Russian politics both during the reign of her husband, Alexander III, and of her son Nicholas II. She bore the name of the popular queen of the victorious Valdemar, whose reign Danish history and tradition so fondly cherish, and when she left them as the bride of the Czarevitch the Danish people testified in the most unmistakable manner their great affection for her. In St. Petersburg her sweet disposition and grace of manner soon made her, of all the members of the imperial family, the

favorite with the public. When I first went to Russia, fourteen years after her marriage, society was still talking of the great enthusiasm awakened by her first entrance into the Capital. She was not so handsome and stately as her sister, Queen Alexandra of England, but she was in some respects even more attractive. Her sweet smile, her beautiful eyes, and the delightful way she had of bowing to the public easily won popular favor.

She was reputed to have sympathized with Alexander III in the repressive measures adopted early in his reign. In my audience of her soon after that event, as already noticed, she showed herself greatly oppressed with the horror of the assassination, and it was natural that there should be in her tender nature a revulsion of feeling and even a bitterness of spirit towards the party whose agents did the foul deed. But the general character of her influence in both reigns has been beneficent. It could scarcely be otherwise, when we remember the careful training she received in the model royal family of Denmark. The bluff, soldierly, and somewhat sinister character of her husband was greatly modified by association with her. Possibly she has imparted to her son too much of her tender nature, which leads to irresolution. He at least does not appear to have inherited much of the tenacity of purpose of his great-grandfather and namesake Nicholas I.

Soon after my arrival I was received in special audience by the Emperor Nicholas II, to present my credential letter from President McKinley, and to discuss with him the object of my mission. As is the custom there on such occasions, I was left entirely alone with him. He asked me to be seated, and conducted a conversation of unusual length, in which he showed a remarkable familiarity with the then somewhat intricate question of the protection of the fur-seals of Bering Sea. In expressing my surprise afterwards to Count Mouravieff at his intimate knowledge of the subject, the Minister

said that when the appointment for the audience was made the Emperor asked for full information and that a great collection of documents bearing on it had been sent him. He remarked that such was his habit as to all matters coming before him. The Count was disposed to criticise this practice, as he said it consumed so much of His Majesty's time, which might be more profitably occupied.

I left the Emperor with a favorable impression of his character and ability. He was youthful in appearance for his years, he had the kindly look in his eyes which so distinguishes his mother, and he inspired me with his sincerity and conscientiousness. He had not then been subjected to the supreme test of his ability and character which has come upon him during and since the Japanese war.

We did not see the Empress, as she was at that time withdrawn from society. The city was all decorated in anticipation of another heir to the throne, and the public in expectancy. The event was to be announced by the firing of an artillery salute, of three hundred and one guns if a boy, and one hundred and one if a girl. It occurred during our stay, and when the one hundred and one guns were fired there was a general feeling of disappointment, it being the second daughter brought into the imperial family.

We found the Empress very unpopular with the Russians. She is the granddaughter of Queen Victoria of England, has had a strict moral training, and has not readily taken to the freer life of St. Petersburg. Her action in causing the state balls to be changed from Sunday night, her abhorrence of cigarette-smoking by the court ladies, and other of her views respecting social affairs have given her the reputation of prudishness. She entered Russia for her marriage as Alexander III lay dying, and she listened to the "De Profundis" in place of the wedding-march; the terrible calamity attending the coronation fête soon followed; the birth in succession of girls, with the absence of a male heir to the throne — these

and other ill omens have led to the popular belief that she was under an unlucky spell.

Mrs. Breckinridge, the wife of our Minister, who has been a good deal in her society, spoke of her to us in the highest terms of admiration. She is handsome, tall and graceful, with finely finished features and a winning smile; a woman of the widest accomplishments and intellectual gifts; charitable and active in good works; but with all these traits she has failed to win her way into the affections of the Russians. The Church party, led by the bigoted M. Pobiedonostseff, say that though she joined the Greek Church at her marriage, she is still a Protestant, and does not keep an "ikon" in her apartments. She is called "the foreigner," and the fact is cited that only English is spoken in the imperial family, in contrast with the exclusive use of Russian in the family of Alexander III. Nevertheless it is quite common to speak English among the families of the grand dukes. The saying is attributed to the Grand Duchess Hélène, daughter of the Grand Duke Vladimir, since Princess Nicholas of Greece, that she could not remember ever speaking anything but English to her father.

I have mentioned the manner in which diplomatic representatives are transported to their audiences of the Czar when he is residing at one of his country palaces. The Director of Ceremonies, who accompanied me to Peterhof to meet the Emperor, had no other person in charge, and devoted himself exclusively to my entertainment, going and returning. During this time he told me a number of stories, some of which will bear repeating.

My audience was on June 7, which the Director of Ceremonies said was the usual time when the nobility and officials took their vacation, going abroad or to their country estates or summer homes. But this year very few had gone, because another imperial baby was momentarily expected and they all awaited its coming, for if they went away they

would be called back to the fêtes in its honor. If it was a boy there would be great feasts, exchanges of dinner-parties among the nobility and officials, and other ceremonies of rejoicing.

He spoke of the Emperor's two brothers, the oldest, George, being Czarevitch, or heir apparent, although the Emperor had then a little daughter, Olga; but she could not ascend the throne so long as there were male heirs, and the Emperor's brothers came before his daughters. The youngest brother was Michael. George was suffering from a lingering disease, and it was thought would not long survive. Michael was then nineteen years old, very bright, healthy, and popular. It was, he said, a current prophecy or expectation among the masses of the people of the Empire that all the Empress's children would be girls, and that there would be an Emperor Michael — the wish being father to the thought.

The Director repeated another story current among the people, to the effect that Alexander III, once out walking with his three sons, met an old woman whom he engaged in conversation. He noticed that she bowed to the first and third sons, but not to the second, and he asked her why she so acted. She replied that she only bowed to those who were to wear a crown — a story probably invented to confirm the popular belief as to Michael.

Some of the Director's experiences in discharge of his official duties, which he related, were quite amusing. When an ambassador arrives and is presented to the Emperor, the audience is granted expressly for the delivery to the Emperor of an autograph letter from the sovereign or head of the Government. He said it had happened more than once that the representative had forgotten to bring his letter, so that he makes it a rule to ask the diplomat, when he meets him at the railway station, if he has his letter with him. (His rule, however, was not invariably observed, as he did

not ask me till after the train had started!) Only a few months before, he was escorting the Minister of Portugal to Tsarskoe-Selo, when lo, and behold! he found he had left his letter at his legation, and the train was just starting. He could not fail in his appointment, and he had to appear before the Emperor to confess that he had forgotten his letter. Carl Schurz, in his reminiscences of the Spanish Court, relates how his letter of credence became mislaid, and he resorted to the expedient of folding a newspaper, inserting it in a huge envelope, and delivering it to Queen Isabella II, having, however, advised the Minister of State of the innocent fraud.

Some of the experiences had with the great Chinese Viceroy, Li Hung Chang, on his visit to the coronation in 1896, were entertaining. He was expected to arrive at Odessa about May 1, but he unexpectedly turned up April 15, not taking the steamer that had been provided for him. No provision had been made for his entertainment at Moscow, where the Viceroy insisted on stopping, and against his vehement remonstrance he was brought on to St. Petersburg. The resident Chinese Minister, in his first notice to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said his suite would consist of fifteen or eighteen persons; but on his second visit to the Foreign Office he fixed it at twenty to twenty-three. From time to time he made other visits to the Foreign Office, each time increasing the number, until at last, when it reached fifty, it became a serious matter, as the Russian Government was to lodge and entertain them.

When Li Hung Chang was to be received by the Emperor, he brought with him to the railway station his son, Lord Li, to act as his interpreter. He was informed that it was a rule of the Court that the Emperor received ambassadors alone, and if an interpreter was required he was furnished from the Foreign Office. The Viceroy thereupon refused to go unless his own interpreter accompanied him. The Director

said he had great difficulty in getting him on the train, and only on the promise that the matter would be discussed and satisfactorily settled by Prince Dolgorouki, Grand Master of Ceremonies, whom he would meet at the palace. The question was finally settled by allowing Lord Li to interpret his formal speech, and the informal conversation was interpreted by the Russian official. Notwithstanding these slight misunderstandings, Li Hung Chang must have been very considerately dealt with on this visit, as he returned to his own country ever after a devoted friend of Russia. In fact his enemies at home charged him with being under corrupt influences.

The Director had quite an assortment of dog stories to relate to me. He was well informed about the dog fanciers in high life — Prince Bismarck and his huge Danes, especially Tyras, surnamed the "Reichshund"; Count Buelow's poodles; Moppi, the famous poodle of Count Taaffe, the Austrian Prime Minister; Delyannis, the Prime Minister of King George of Greece, who risked his life by jumping overboard to save his favorite dog in a shark-infested sea; and King Edward VII, who carried one or more of his terriers with him on his Continental visits.

I repeat only his Russian story. There was a law in Sweden which forbade the importation of any foreign dogs into that country. In this way they claim never to have had a single case of rabies. A few years before the date of my visit one of the Grand Dukes made a visit to Sweden, and took with him several of his favorite dogs. When he reached Stockholm, the dogs were refused admittance. The Grand Duke appealed to the King, who called a council of state, before which the Grand Duke represented that his dogs had been so seasick on the voyage he really believed they would die if sent back without landing. But the Council of State was obdurate, and the order was given to send the dogs back to Russia. The Grand Duke was in despair. But the cap-

tain of the ship hit upon the device of bringing on board a quantity of earth, covered it with grass, and thus deceived the dogs into the belief that they were on land, relieving sufficiently their sickness to get them safely back to Russia. But the Grand Duke made a vow never to visit Sweden again.

On our way to Peterhof the Director said I would find His Majesty occupying a small house or cottage called "The Farm," in the grounds of the celebrated Palace of Peterhof built by Peter the Great; and he apologized to me for finding the Emperor in such scanty quarters, when he had so many grand palaces at his disposal. But he moralized with the comment: "Such is the way of mankind — they are never satisfied with what they have."

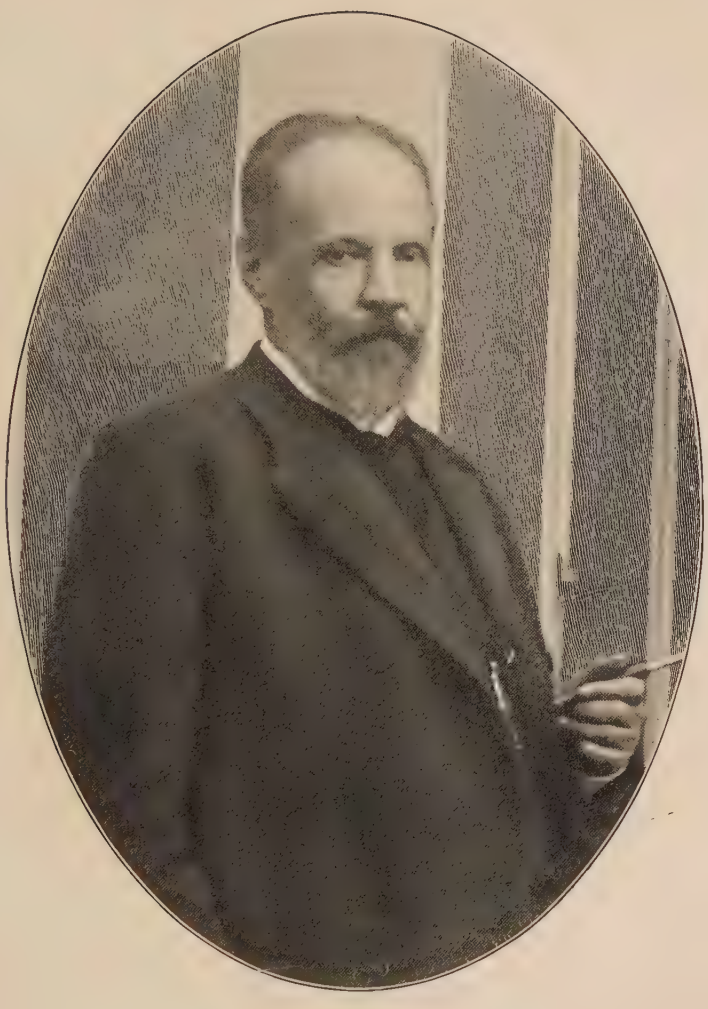
I had a second opportunity of meeting the Emperor under very favorable circumstances. Some days after I had my audience I was asked by Count Mouravieff to call at the Foreign Office, when he told me that the Emperor had noticed that I had a military title, and that if it would be agreeable to me he would like to invite me to accompany him at a review of a regiment of which he was the honorary colonel. An imperial invitation is a command, and the Emperor took this delicate way of affording me an opportunity to escape the review, if I had no military taste or curiosity to satisfy. I expressed to the Count the great honor and pleasure I would have in receiving and accepting such an invitation. I was accordingly asked in an official note to attend the "Church Parade of the Ismailovsky Infantry Regiment of the Imperial Guard, at Camp Krasnoe Selo," near Peterhof.

On my arrival at the railway station of the camp, I was met by one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp with a carriage, and driven through immense crowds of people to the small military church at some distance from the station, where a tedious religious service was held in the presence of the Emperor, his staff, and the officers of the regiment, all ex-

cept the music being unintelligible to me. After the service the Emperor on foot passed down the line of the regiment drawn up adjoining the church, and made a careful inspection of each company. The regiment then passed by platoons in review before the Emperor, still on foot. Seeing me in the crowd of attending officers, he sent an aide to bring me to him and placed me on his right, slightly in his rear, but so that he could converse with me.

After the review we were driven to the mess-hall of the regiment, an immense room, where an elegant breakfast was served, presided over by the Emperor, and attended by his staff, all the officers of the regiment, and a number of military guests. I was the only foreigner present, as it was intended to be a purely military family affair. I sat on the opposite side of the table, on the right of the Emperor's chief of staff, and near enough for easy conversation. His Majesty was quite interested in the events of our Civil War and my own military service, and showed himself familiar with our history. After the breakfast was served, the company broke up into groups, and the Emperor gathered all the regimental officers about him, and passing from one to the other spoke individually to all of them, having quite a conversation with each. I was much impressed with the thoroughness and the conscientious manner in which he discharged his duties towards his fellow officers.

The most noted Russian subject of the time was Serge J. Witte (afterwards Count de Witte) holding the post of Minister of Finance, and the most powerful man in the Empire. He came from the middle or merchant class of the people and is another evidence, as was M. de Giers, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that rank and fortune do not always control in the attainment of the highest offices in the Russian Government, but that capacity and fitness sometimes enable their possessor to push his way to the front, in spite of the nobility and bureaucracy.



SERGE J. DE WITTE

At the time of my visit, Witte had already made for himself a great reputation as a financier and administrative officer. In these departments his first great work was to establish the protective tariff system and build up the industrial establishments of the Empire. His next accomplishment was to give stability to the currency and introduce the gold standard. He labored successfully to promote the state ownership of railroads and create great state monopolies. The chief of these was the monopoly of the sale of alcohol and intoxicants, under a system of dispensaries similar to the experiment in one or more of the States of our Union. All of these measures have added greatly to the power of the Government and much to its commercial prosperity; but they had even at the time of my visit created for him much opposition and many enemies, and these were able eventually to drive him from his post as Minister of Finance.

I was naturally anxious to meet this famous man and have some opportunity of measuring his capacity, and very fortunately this opportunity came about as a natural outcome of the business which brought me to St. Petersburg. One of the questions connected with it had to do with the Finance Department, and Count Mouravieff suggested that I call and discuss it with M. de Witte, and said that he would arrange for the interview. When I mentioned the intended interview to our Minister he at once commiserated with me, as he said Witte was very rough and severe in his intercourse, and did not hesitate to be rude even to the members of the Diplomatic Corps who had occasion to call on him; and such was his general reputation.

My experience, however, was not at all a disagreeable one. I found him a little brusque in manner and voice, but he was very attentive to what I had to say on the question which brought me to him. This he decided promptly and favorably, and I rose to take my leave. But he begged me to be seated as, he said, he wanted to talk with me about

some American matters. He then said he would like for me to explain to him the silver question, which had been the issue in the first McKinley-Bryan campaign which had closed only a few months before. I professed my incompetency for such a task, but we had a prolonged conversation on the subject, in which he manifested much interest.

He then introduced the subject of the production and sale of wheat, of which he said the United States and Russia were the greatest producers and exporters; and he asked if there was not some way in which the two Governments might coöperate to maintain a fair price in foreign markets. In answer to my inquiry as to how this could be done, he proposed that the two Governments should combine to regulate the exportation of the grain and in this way maintain a remunerative price abroad. I expressed to him a fear that our Government would not feel warranted in adopting such a measure, and that a difficulty might be encountered in our constitutional provision as to exports. It appears that he did afterwards put such a proposition into shape, to be acted upon by the leading wheat-growing countries, which were to join in maintaining prices and thus protect the farmers from the fluctuations caused by speculation and by the irregularity of supply and demand. The chimerical plan did not exalt him in my esteem as a statesman, but his conception of it is to be explained by his life in a country where trade, as well as politics, is controlled by an autocratic power.

An amusing incident occurred during our interview. In the midst of our conversation the telephone-bell on his desk sounded, and he asked me to excuse him to answer the call. A brief conversation in Russian took place through the instrument, and he hung up the receiver with an impetuous jerk, and the remark to me, "It's a girl," and resumed the silver discussion, as if nothing had occurred of moment. In a few minutes the cannon from all the fortresses of the

Capital were booming the news of another addition to the imperial family.

Since my visit Count de Witte has been a still more conspicuous figure in Russian and world politics. After being driven from the Cabinet by his enemies, he was in retirement till the Japanese victories made it necessary for Russia to sue for peace, when his sovereign called upon him as the most suitable person to extricate the country from the disasters into which it had fallen. He had had no diplomatic experience, but he was the most forceful subject of the Empire and was well fitted to drive a hard bargain. He gained much credit for his part in the peace negotiations, but more than he really deserved, as Japan held every advantage which she had gained in the war; and his boastful manner detracted even from the merit to which he was entitled.

When the disorders broke out following the Japanese war, the Emperor called him to the head of the Government, but his stay in power was brief. His great success as a financier did not attend him in his efforts to reconcile the Emperor and his discontented subjects. He is understood to be a man of large wealth, and if his country does not again demand his services he can spend the remainder of his days in ease and comfort.

A feature of his domestic life illustrates the strong prejudice which still exists in Russian official society against the Jews. After he had attained a high position in the government service he became enamoured of a beautiful and accomplished Jewess. A divorce was readily obtained from the insignificant official who was her husband, and she married M. de Witte. But during the days of his greatest success as Minister of Finance, and even when he was called to negotiate the peace with Japan, his wife was never presented at Court and she was boycotted by all the ladies of the nobility. However, when the country seemed on the verge of revolution and Witte was regarded as the only man who

could confront the situation, before he accepted the invitation of the Emperor to take charge of the Government, it is understood he made it a condition that his ostracized wife should be received at Court, and in due time Countess de Witte was presented to the Emperor and Empress. The country's need was her opportunity, and the triumph of the Jewess came at last. Her people might adopt toward her, with a slight alteration, the language of Mordecai: "Thou art come to the kingdom at such a time as this."

The business of my mission brought me into personal contact with another official who has since attained an international reputation. After I had settled with Count Mouravieff the general question involved, he asked me to take up the formal details of the arrangement with M. Frederick de Maartens, a member of the Council of the Foreign Office. He had long been an official of that department and was also Professor of International Law in the University of St. Petersburg. I held a number of conferences with him and our relations were of a very pleasant character. I regarded him more as a scholar than a statesman; not endowed with great talents, but a man thoroughly informed in matters of international law and diplomacy, and a useful public servant.

Since the time I first met him, M. de Maartens has acted as president of the arbitration tribunal which adjusted the Venezuelan boundary controversy and as a member of the first Peace Conference at The Hague. He was sent to Portsmouth as an adviser of the Russian plenipotentiaries in the peace negotiations with Japan, but, owing to Witte's masterful spirit and self-confidence, he was afforded little opportunity in shaping the results. He was also the prominent Russian delegate to the second Peace Conference at The Hague, where I was again associated with him.

Among the members of the Diplomatic Corps there were a number whom I had met at other capitals in former years,

and it was very pleasant to be able to renew our acquaintance. Among these was the British Ambassador, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, of whom I saw a good deal on my first visit to Peking while he was the British Minister at that Court. He and Lady O'Connor did much to make our stay in St. Petersburg a pleasant one. Another ambassador who was especially kind to us was Prince Radolin, the German representative, and his charming wife. The Prince has since filled the post of Ambassador at Paris with much distinction.

The American Minister to St. Petersburg, Clifton R. Breckinridge, received me with the greatest cordiality, and omitted no effort to make my special mission a success. Under ordinary circumstances the resident diplomatic representative does not look with favor upon special missions to the Court to which he is accredited, and there are a number of instances in the history of our country where such missions have created jealousy and ill feeling. In the present case there could be no reflection upon either Mr. Hay at London or Mr. Breckinridge at St. Petersburg in my appointment, as they both possessed the confidence of our Government, and the fur-seal question was one which concerned four governments and had been in my charge for some time as agent of the United States. My presence in these two capitals was merely in execution of the general trust committed to me.

In all my conferences with the Russian officials I invited Mr. Breckinridge to accompany me, and he rendered at all times cheerful and useful assistance. Besides, during our brief stay of two weeks, he and Mrs. Breckinridge were untiring in their social attention, and largely through their favor we were the recipients of marked courtesies by members of the Court and of the Diplomatic Corps. Mr. Breckinridge suffered some eclipse in his political career on his return to his home in Arkansas, because of his manly and independent course on the financial question during the Cleveland Ad-

ministration. A State can ill afford for such reasons to be deprived of the services of a person of such high character, experience, and ability.

On my return to London I found both the Foreign and Colonial offices still absorbed with the concluding ceremonies of the Queen's Jubilee, and I was detained there a full month before my business was concluded. As the question in hand primarily concerned Canada, my conferences were mainly with the Colonial Secretary of the Cabinet, Joseph Chamberlain, and I had a good opportunity to study this unique character in British politics. I had seen a good deal of him socially when he was in Washington in 1888, engaged in the fisheries negotiations, but now I was brought face to face with him on a vexed question in our international politics.

Two years later he forced his country into the conflict with the Dutch in South Africa, out of which it emerged with a great loss of its military prestige, but with credit for the imperial policy in the colonies for which he stood as chief advocate. When I was again in London, in connection with the Alaskan boundary in 1903, he was once more the conspicuous figure in British politics, as the champion of a new tariff policy for the Kingdom. How far he would have succeeded in revising the established fiscal order of the Government, had he not been stricken with disease, can only be conjectured. Great Britain has not produced in the past twenty-five years a more bold, independent, and forceful statesman, nor one so little controlled by party trammels or hereditary ideas. It is related that when Chamberlain deserted the Liberal Party, Mr. Gladstone said, "Chamberlain is the first politician we have had of the American type, and he is destined to give a great deal of trouble." Whether or not his characterization of Chamberlain was correct, his prophecy has been abundantly fulfilled.

During this visit to London I first met Sir Wilfrid Laurier,

the Canadian Prime Minister. He was there with the other colonial leaders in attendance on the Queen's Jubilee, and the colonial conferences with Mr. Chamberlain respecting plans for an imperial confederation. His attractive physical appearance, his gracious manner, and his persuasive eloquence had made him easily the most distinguished and popular of all the colonial representatives at the Jubilee. I was destined to see much more of him in later years.

My stay was not altogether devoted to business, as I have intimated that the Jubilee ceremonies obstructed it, but my compensation was in seeing more of English society and ways than I would have enjoyed but for this delay. We were honored with further invitations to Buckingham Palace and had new occasions for seeing court life. I also was able to note their effect on our public men. A gentleman from one of our Western States, who had been honored with some of the highest offices in the gift of our people, received an invitation for himself and daughter to one of the court functions at Buckingham Palace, and he felt highly flattered by this royal attention. But when he learned that he must appear in knee-breeches and silver-buckled low shoes, he rebelled and peremptorily refused to go. His daughter, who was wild at the thought of going to Court, beseeched and pleaded in vain. I finally used my persuasive powers and reasoned against his folly, as we termed it. At last, to gratify his daughter, he consented to the ordeal, upon our promise not to breathe a word of it on our return home. "It will forever blast my political prospects, if the people hear it," said he.

Although our country was so worthily represented by Ambassador John Hay, President McKinley, as a mark of high consideration to Queen Victoria, appointed a special ambassador to the Jubilee in the person of one of our distinguished citizens, Whitelaw Reid, who discharged his mission with all the success which attends refined manners and

wealth. He was honored by the presence of the Prince of Wales at his table, and we then had another occasion to meet the reigning British sovereign. Mr. Reid later filled the post of Ambassador at London with much acceptance.

We were favored with "week-end" visits to some of the noted country-seats which occupy so large a space in English social life. I had been associated in the Bering Sea Arbitration at Paris with Sir Richard Webster, Queen's counsel before that tribunal, and the most successful lawyer of his day in London (afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England, Baron Alvenstone). He did not possess one of the ancient estates, but had built for himself a modern country-house, of which he was very proud, picturesquely situated in the hill country of Surrey, with wide-extended and beautiful views off towards the distant sea; and he insisted that Mrs. Foster and I should come down and pass a Sunday with him. He met us at the railway station, and himself drove us across country behind his spanking bays. Other visitors were at his place and we made up a pleasant house-party. The garden, the dairy, and the stables were his pride, and well they might be. Sir Richard was a devout Churchman, and we all assembled in the large hall, guests and servants, for evening prayers, he officiating at the organ and leading in the singing and prayers. Another of our "week-end" visits was to Knebworth House, the country-seat of the family once famous in English politics and literature, the Bulwer-Lyttons. Its history goes back beyond the days of Queen Elizabeth, and we heard many tales and legends about its rooms and halls. It has shared the fate of many an old home of the nobility, these entailed estates that cannot go out of the family but may be incumbered, as was this, by profligacy and gambling. The present heir is too poor to live upon it, with its nine thousand acres and the great mansion, and for the time it was leased to our host, one of our American captains of industry, Mr. Henry Phipps.

One of my social experiences was of such exceptional character as to bear reciting. I received an invitation to the Jubilee dinner of "The Worshipful Company of Fishmongers," one of the famous guilds of London which have come down from ancient times. Supposing I was indebted to the American Embassy for my invitation I resorted thither for information and instructions. The Embassy knew nothing of the invitation, but I was advised to attend it as a unique affair. When I entered the palatial hall I expected to meet some friend, but there was no one to receive me but the servants in brilliant uniform, who were quite attentive. I wandered through the spacious halls before the dinner was announced, but recognized no one. I was assigned a seat of honor at the table, but had to introduce myself to my adjoining companions. The table-plan with the names showed a large company of distinguished people, the nobility, military, bankers, and merchants, but no one I ever saw before. The exercises at the dinner were unlike anything I had witnessed, quite formal, but interspersed with toasts (no speeches) and beautiful music, altogether enjoyable. It closed with a quartette song, "The Fisherman's Goodnight." To this day I am in ignorance of the person to whom I was indebted for the unique entertainment.

Our Sundays were not always spent in the country, pleasant and restful as they were, as on this and other visits we sought out the great preachers of London, and we found them, as in other large cities, very few. We were struck with the fact that the most eloquent and popular preachers were not in the Established Church, but among the Dissenting bodies. Joseph Parker, of the Congregational, and Charles H. Spurgeon, of the Baptist Church, were the great preachers of London in my earlier visits. Another notable fact was that they were preachers of the "old gospel"; they talked of sin and the judgment to come, of the need of repentance and conversion; it was such preaching that crowded

their great audience-rooms and built up their congregations.

Not the least instructive of our leisure excursions was a visit to the Henley Royal Regatta, as members of a house-boat party. This regatta was sought to be made especially attractive as one of the festivities of the Diamond Jubilee. Such a scene is nowhere else to be found, with its multitude of boats of all descriptions, the bustling and jostling, the brilliant and beautiful costumes of the ladies, the excitement of the race. It is outdoor English life and sport in its gayest style.

So also is there nothing more interesting and enjoyable than the two days' trip we took down the Thames from Oxford to London on an electric launch, under the guidance of a host who knew every foot of the way, its history, literature, and legends. What a marvel of beauty and enjoyment the English have made of a comparatively insignificant and sluggish stream, by their system of locks, careful policing, landscape gardening, and tasteful architecture.

Our journey home was made by the same ship on which we came and in the company of our Chinese companions. The Ambassador and his suite had meanwhile attended the Queen's Jubilee, visited Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, the Ambassador and his Secretary having received royal decorations at the respective Courts, and were quite satisfied with their mission. On reaching New York, the Ambassador and his Secretary accompanied me to our summer home on Lake Ontario, and spent a few days enjoying the black-bass fishing and our free outdoor life.

CHAPTER XVIII

MY MISSION TO SPAIN

As already related, I had of my own choice retired from the Diplomatic Service in the autumn of 1881, in order to resume the practice of law. I fixed my residence in Washington, and had established a profitable practice which promised to be still more lucrative in the future. I was quite content with my lot, and looked forward to spending the remainder of my days in the quiet pursuit of my profession, when on February 20, 1883, I received a note from President Arthur's private secretary, stating that the President would be glad to have me call at the Executive Mansion the day following to see him.

On my calling the next day, the President, referring in complimentary terms to my past diplomatic service, said that he had determined to appoint me Minister to Spain, if I would accept, and he hoped very much I would do so. He knew, he remarked, that I had voluntarily retired from the Service, but there was an important work to do in that country which he felt sure I could accomplish better than any one else, and he hoped I would make the sacrifice required in again entering the public service.

He proceeded to explain that he greatly desired to originate a policy of commercial reciprocity with the Spanish-American countries especially; that General Grant and Señor Romero, the Mexican Minister, had just concluded such a treaty for Mexico; that he regarded it of great importance that a similar treaty should be negotiated with Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico; that to accomplish this object he was anxious to send me to Madrid; and that, if I chose, I might regard it as in the nature of a special mission, and when ac-

complished I could be free to return home. He added that there were other matters of importance which he desired to intrust to me, such as the claims of American citizens growing out of the late insurrection in Cuba and the unsatisfactory commercial relation with that island, but that the reciprocity treaty was the chief measure which led him to ask me to accept the mission.

I stated to the President that I highly appreciated the honor which he proposed to bestow upon me, but that it came as a surprise, and that I must beg the privilege of a few days' delay in giving him an answer, to enable me to consult my wife and see what arrangements I might make with my clients. I confess that the President's request was an appeal too flattering to my pride and my patriotism to be resisted; my wife readily consented, and I was able so to arrange my business affairs as to give the President an affirmative answer within a few days. My nomination was at once sent to the Senate and promptly confirmed, and I set about preparations for our journey to Madrid, when an unexpected event delayed my departure for my post.

General Porfirio Diaz, having successfully completed his first term as President of Mexico, turned over the Government to his successor, restored peace throughout the country, and established a high reputation as a statesman, determined to embrace the opportunity of his release from public duties to make a visit to the United States. General Grant's visit to Mexico three years before, when he was made the guest of the nation, was fresh in the public mind, and it was felt that similar honors should be extended by our Government and people to the ex-President of Mexico. In view of my acquaintance and past relations with him, Secretary Frelinghuysen asked me to act as the President's special representative, to meet General Diaz at the frontier, invite him to become the guest of the nation, and escort him to Washington.

As he was accompanied by his wife and her parents, who had been among our most intimate friends during our residence in Mexico, Mrs. Foster joined me on the journey to meet our distinguished guests. Several days were spent at St. Louis, Chicago, Niagara Falls, Buffalo, New York, and other points, en route to Washington, and the ex-President and his party were the recipients of the most generous hospitality and attention from the state and municipal authorities, as well as by the Federal Government during his stay in the Capital. The visit had the salutary effect of removing the last vestige of bitterness, if any remained, growing out of the tardy recognition by the United States of the Revolutionary Government, and created a new bond of good will between the two Republics.

This service delayed me several weeks in reaching Madrid, but on June 16, 1883, I was received by the King and presented my credentials as Minister. The details of that ceremony were so different from those at St. Petersburg that it may be of interest to repeat them as given by me in a letter to my wife, then in Paris, as follows: —

At the designated hour the Introducer of Ambassadors arrived at my hotel with two of the King's state carriages, accompanied by two officers of the King's household and an escort of cavalry. After a few minutes' conversation we "took up our line of march" to the palace. The Secretary of the Legation and the two officers went in the first carriage and I followed with the Introducer of Ambassadors in the second. On the rear of each carriage stood two lackeys in bright dress and powdered wigs and with great gilded staffs in their hands; a section of the mounted escort preceding, and another, following the carriage, rode in brilliant cavalry uniform. We entered the palace by the grand stairway, the most attractive feature of this beautiful edifice, a double line of royal guards standing on each of the steps, with one

stationed at each landing and doorway, holding a huge medieval mace, which he brought down with a whack which echoed through the vaulted roof as we passed.

After a few minutes' waiting I was ushered into the presence of His Majesty, Don Alfonso XII, who was standing in the rear of the *salon*, at a table, behind and around which were the Minister of State (Foreign Affairs) and quite an array of the King's staff, grandees and lesser nobles, all in uniform. I had been instructed as to my movements in His Majesty's presence, first by my secretary and afterwards by the Introducer of Ambassadors, and I went through them as best I could. When the doors were thrown open, I was announced in a loud voice by the Introducer, whereupon as I entered I made a profound bow; then advanced halfway to His Majesty, stopped and bowed again; and when I came near I made my final halt and third bow. (What a pity I did not take some lessons at St. Petersburg from the Russians, who do it so well.)

When my last bow was made, I began my little speech, a copy of which had been sent a week before to the Minister of State. Unfortunately I had left my glasses at the hotel, as, being in uniform, I could not well carry them, but I had my address pretty well at my tongue's end and got along without much use of the manuscript. I did really better than Don Alfonso, who mumbled his reply over rather poorly, confining himself closely to his paper.

After the addresses were over and my credentials delivered, the King shook hands with me very heartily, and we had a pleasant conversation. He began in Spanish, but after a little while I told him he spoke such good English he ought to use that language with me, referring to my audience of the Czar, who said he was glad of an opportunity to practice English. The King replied that he spoke English with difficulty, and did not like to do so for fear of "talking nonsense," meaning, I suppose, making mistakes, and he soon got back

Alfonso

into Spanish. Then we said good-bye, and bowed each other out of the hall at opposite doors, his ministers and suite following him; and I returned to my hotel in the same style in which I came.

I must say I like the practice of the Russian Court better, where I went to the palace in my own carriage, was received by the Grand Master of Ceremonies and ushered into the presence of the Czar, both of us unattended; no set speeches, but after I had handed him my credentials, we had a pleasant talk like two sensible men. Such a method is more likely to promote good relations than the ceremonious performance just described.

Some preparation had been made in Spain before my arrival for the commercial reciprocity negotiations. The fact of the completion of a reciprocity treaty with Mexico had been published, and was the occasion of discussion in the Spanish Cortes or National Congress. The Cuban members asked for the publication of the text of the Mexican treaty in the Records of the Cortes, which was done, and they strongly urged upon the Government that, for the protection of Cuban interests, a similar treaty be negotiated with the United States for that island. The provision of the treaty for the free admission of sugar from Mexico to the United States was the one which most awakened the interest of the Cubans, as sugar was the chief interest of their island, and they feared the effects of the Mexican treaty upon their great industry. A Colonial Congress held in Madrid soon after my arrival also passed a resolution strongly favoring such a treaty as necessary to restore the waning industries of Cuba.

Notwithstanding those favorable indications, I was destined to delays and disappointment, and to learn over again the lesson of my Mexican experience that the Spanish temperament does not admit of celerity in the dispatch of

public business. On my arrival I found the attention of the Government absorbed in the Carlist movement, designed to place the pretender Don Carlos on the throne, and also disturbed by other revolutionary uprisings, mainly in the army. Added to these were the rapid changes of ministries, which made any consecutive and satisfying negotiations impossible. During the first seven months of my mission I had to do with three separate cabinets, representing different parties and policies. Spanish parties and politics present a complicated subject, very difficult for the comprehension of the foreigner. Later on I shall endeavor to explain them, but for the present I content myself with giving the main reason for the sudden changes of the ministries to which I have referred.

In the midst of the unrest and discontent prevailing in the country, the Ministry of Señor Sagasta conceived that it would be good policy for the young King Alfonso XII to make a foreign tour, and a visit was planned to the Court of Vienna, — to which he was allied by his marriage to a member of the imperial family, — to the Emperor of Germany, and to the President of France, the Ministry hoping that the attentions which their king would receive from these powerful nations would give him greater prestige in his own country and possibly strengthen the Ministry. But unfortunately the foreign visit had results not altogether anticipated by those who planned it. The receptions which the King received in Vienna and Berlin were of the most distinguished character. Especially in the Capital of Germany were the attentions bestowed upon him very marked. Among other favors he was made honorary colonel of a German regiment by the Emperor; an honor, however, conferred upon a number of other reigning European sovereigns.

These courtesies showered upon the King in Berlin awakened in the sensitive French populace a feeling of deep re-

sentment, cultivated by a certain part of the Parisian press which charged these manifestations as the evidence of a coalition of the three monarchs against the French Republic, and that the German title conferred was an insult to the French nation. On his return to Spain, passing through Paris, the King was met by the President of the Council and the Minister of Foreign Affairs; but not comprehending the state of public excitement, they had taken no precautions to suppress disorder, and the King encountered an infuriated mob, which greeted him with hooting and jeers, and even with stones thrown at his carriage. In giving me an account of his experience, in a private conversation soon after the event, he said, in a good-humored way, that it was pretty hard to sit still and be hissed at, and to have fists shaken in one's face and stones thrown at your carriage.

On his arrival in Madrid he was met at the railway station by an immense crowd, which seemed to be the entire population, including the Ministry and officials of all ranks. The crowd was so great that it was utterly impossible for the police to clear a way for me to the place reserved for the Diplomatic Corps, and after being nearly suffocated and trampled to death I had to give up the attempt. In reporting the event to the Department of State I wrote as follows: "The marked attentions which the King received from the Emperors of Austria and Germany have been very gratifying to his subjects and have tended to increase his prestige in Spain; but the unpleasant incidents which occurred in Paris on his return journey created a profound impression throughout the country, and led to a popular demonstration on his arrival in Madrid which has rarely been witnessed here. The discourtesy of a part of the populace of Paris was interpreted as an indignity to the Spanish people, and men of all parties and schools of opinion in Spain united to receive the King, on his entry into the Capital, as the honored chief of the nation. Never has a Spanish monarch been re-

ceived with such enthusiastic and hearty demonstrations. While there was a decided difference of opinion amongst Spanish public men as to the good policy of the foreign tour, all parties agree that the King has conducted himself with tact and prudence, and, however it may affect political circles, the general result is personally advantageous to Don Alfonso."

With the Ministry the case was different. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo, who had accompanied Alfonso on his foreign tour and was a witness of the Parisian outrage, returned in a state of intense indignation. Although the French Government had promptly expressed its deep regret at the discourtesy and did what it could to make amends, Vega de Armijo insisted that further reparation should be made and that the Spanish Ambassador should be withdrawn from Paris. The chief of the Ministry, Sagasta, was not willing to take a step which might lead to hostilities; the Minister for Foreign Affairs tendered his resignation; and, as other differences existed in the Cabinet, the whole Ministry resigned.

The King constituted a new Ministry, at the head of which was Posada-Herrera, a statesman of experience, and with associates made up of the most liberal elements of the adherents to the monarchy. Its programme contained very advanced views of public questions, such as the revision of the constitution, universal suffrage, civil marriage, reform of the army, and more liberal foreign trade. In my comments to the Department of State, I spoke of this Ministry as the most liberal one since the restoration of the monarchy, and in referring to what seemed to be a steady tendency towards the more free and enlightened principles of government, I wrote: "Much of the credit is due to the young King, who has shown himself to be a constitutional sovereign, imbued with ideas very different from his predecessors, and has on frequent occasions announced himself to be a liberal ruler,

especially desirous of developing the peaceful industries of the country and elevating labor."

It seemed, however, that the programme of the new Ministry was in advance of the times, and that the Cabinet must be short-lived. I therefore resolved to lose no time in improving the opportunity to further the main purpose of my mission. The Minister of State or of Foreign Affairs, Ruiz Gomez, was a man of large experience, several times a cabinet officer, favorable to free trade, prompt in dispatch of business, and characterized by frankness. The commercial intercourse of the United States with Cuba had for years past been in a most unsatisfactory condition, and this fact was at once recognized by the new Minister of State. Among the most annoying of these conditions was what is known as the "discriminating flag" policy of Spain, by which foreign goods imported into Spain or its colonies in Spanish vessels were charged a lower rate of duties than when imported in vessels of other nationalities. Under this system American vessels engaged in the trade with Cuba were placed at a great disadvantage, and especially so as the Cuban trade was largely with the United States. The system had been the source of complaint on the part of our Government for many years, and under a statutory provision it had resorted to retaliation by imposing a discriminating tonnage tax upon all Spanish vessels entering the ports of the United States. The Minister agreed with me that this policy of reprisals was neither creditable to the two Governments, nor did it tend to promote trade, and we reached an agreement to remove the discriminating charges on both sides.

This was an important step taken in the direction of improved commercial relations with Cuba, and I was heartily congratulated by the Secretary of State for my success. In drawing up the articles of agreement I inserted, with the approval of the Minister, a stipulation that we would enter without delay upon negotiations for a complete treaty of

commerce and navigation between the two countries respecting the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. The agreement was duly signed, but one of its stipulations had to be submitted to the Cortes for approval.

Before that action could be had the expected happened, the advanced Liberal Ministry fell from power, and a Conservative Ministry, under Cánovas, took charge of the Government. I stood in great fear lest my "discriminating flag" agreement, with its reciprocity attachment, would likewise fall with the Ministry which made it. But my anxiety was not of long duration, for as soon as I could get the new Minister's attention to the business, he assured me he would ratify what his predecessor had done, and that when other matters then pressing upon his attention could be disposed of, he would take up with me the negotiations for the Cuban reciprocity treaty.

The excitement occasioned by the foreign visit of the King had hardly been allayed when it was announced that a return visit was to be made by Frederick William, Crown Prince of Germany, on behalf of the Emperor William I. This visit the month following the return of Don Alfonso was the cause of much comment because of its promptness and of the strained relations existing between Germany and France, and between France and Spain growing out of the insults to the King in Paris.

On account of the peculiar political situation the reception of the Crown Prince was one of unusual display and enthusiasm. The King went in state to receive him at the railway station, and nearly the whole population was out to welcome him. Military reviews, a civil banquet in the palace, attended by the Ministers of State, Diplomatic Corps, and grandees, another banquet in the palace for the military officials, a concert, a reception, and a state ball; hunting-parties, excursions to neighboring cities, and the inevitable bull-fight were among the festivities.

One of the most interesting of these attentions was the exhibition of the great store of old tapestries stowed away in the palace, which were brought out for the inspection of the Crown Prince, and we were thus afforded the rare opportunity of inspecting the most extensive and one of the finest collections of tapestries existing in the world. In the time of Charles V and Philip II, when the countries producing the finest work of this art in its highest perfection were under the Spanish dominion, there was gathered in Madrid a vast store of choice tapestries, a large part of which are packed away in the Royal Palace. On this occasion they lined all the courts, halls, and passageways of the extensive palace, and constituted an exhibition not possible in any other part of Europe.

I was honored by a private audience of the Crown Prince, and held with him a conversation of some length. In the course of it he expressed the warmest friendship for the United States and his high appreciation of the kind treatment which German subjects and immigrants uniformly received from our Government and people. During his visit to Spain he conducted himself with great prudence and good sense, and he gained the hearty good will of the people of all classes by his soldierly bearing, his gracious manners, and the interest he manifested in the national institutions and customs.

CHAPTER XIX

CUBAN CLAIMS AND RECIPROCITY

NOTWITHSTANDING the changes of ministries in Spain, I had not been unmindful of other matters which had been intrusted to me, the most important of which were the claims of American citizens against the Spanish Government for acts of the Cuban authorities. Had I been disposed to be unmindful of them, the claimants and their attorneys would not have allowed me to sleep upon my post of duty. Diplomatic representatives to a government whose finances are embarrassed have a thankless task in urging upon it the claims of their unfortunate countrymen with unsettled accounts. A Claims Commission had been in session in Washington for some years previous to my appointment, and had adjudicated a large number of claims of Americans for injuries suffered to their properties in Cuba, growing out of the insurrection. But in a number of these cases the claimants felt that injustice had been done them by the Commission, and they had induced our Government to assume their continued prosecution. I was accordingly instructed to present them to the Spanish Government and urge upon it their allowance and payment.

Most of these claims were meritorious, but they labored under the disadvantage of having been before a commission which had failed to pass upon them favorably, some for want of jurisdiction and others for reasons which did not seem sound to our Government. I labored most industriously to convince the Spanish Government of the justice of our pretensions, and sent to the Foreign Office reams of arguments and exhibits, but to no purpose. My wily op-

ponents used strongly against me the action of the Commission, and the untrustworthy character of the citizenship of our clients, who they claimed were mostly renegade Cuban Spanish subjects in the fraudulent disguise of American citizens.

Besides it was insisted that Spain had counter-claims to offset those of the Americans. While the claims of the British and French for damages growing out of the American Civil War had been adjudicated by commissions and paid, those of Spanish subjects were still unsettled; that there were other claims growing out of the cession of Florida; and that these would more than offset those now urged by us.

But back of all those defenses and arguments was the stubborn fact that the Spanish Treasury was empty; that every year the national budget showed a deficit; and if there was not money enough in the Treasury to pay Spanish subjects their dues, why should they allow these American claims to worry them? After a similar experience twelve years before, John Hay, in his charming book, "Castilian Days," wrote: "You can never, even after years of experience, predict the answer which the Spanish Government will make to a just claim. You can only be sure of one thing — that it will not pay. They will at first deny the fact, they will next make an argument on the law, and they will end by silence and shameless delay. Even the bayonet is not always a sufficient persuader. They would often rather fight than pay. There is usually too pressing need of money in the august circles of the Court and Cabinet to have any of it wasted in the payment of debts."

This extract is entertaining reading, but it was not found strictly accurate in my relations with the Government. I regard the poverty of the Treasury as the main cause of the delay and evasion. I was instructed to secure the payment of the awards of the Commission to which I have referred, and after considerable delay and frequent urging I obtained

payment. One of the matters of complaint, for which I was instructed to secure a remedy, was what was termed "the cattle tax." An important trade had grown up in the shipment of cattle from Florida to Cuba, and the Spanish Government directed its consuls to collect a tax or fee of ten cents per ton on such shipments. To this our Government had been objecting for several years, on the ground that it was not a legitimate charge for consular services, but was in fact an export tax collected by foreign officials in American territory. After much discussion I secured the abolition of this exaction and a promise of the return of the money collected, and repayment was made just at the close of my mission.

Another case of payment of obligations highly creditable to Spain may be mentioned. Under a claims treaty of 1834 the Spanish Government recognized certain debts due to American citizens and obligated itself to make a perpetual payment semi-annually of interest on the amount of the debts. Because of the war of 1898 between the United States and Spain, it was held that all existing treaties between the two countries were abrogated. But when the war was over, while all of her treaties were accepted as having been terminated by the war, the Spanish Government not only rehabilitated this treaty, but paid up the interest which had fallen due while hostilities were in progress.

I have intimated that the private American claimants and their attorneys were active in keeping their interests ever before me. One of the most energetic of these was a Washington claims agent, who before my departure from home had sought to inspire me with a double portion of zeal in behalf of his clients. He had already made more than one journey to Madrid to study the methods by which he might induce the Spanish Government to look with favor upon his claim. Some time after I had been at my post and he had been advised that I had presented his case to the Gov-

ernment and was urging its settlement, he again turned up at Madrid.

Taking the precaution to telegraph me from Paris that he was en route with fresh instructions from President Arthur, on his arrival he waited upon me and read to me a letter written by one of the "attorneys" in the case, giving what claimed to be the substance of a conference which this "attorney," a very close friend of the President, had held with him. In the conference the President had told him that his patience had been exhausted with the delays of Spain, and that instructions had been sent to me to press the claims with renewed energy upon the Government, and that if it persisted in its refusal to make a just settlement I must give it to understand that our Government would resort to force for their collection, and that its ultimatum would be "claims or war — claims or Cuba."

I was compelled to say to this earnest agent that I had received no such instructions as those indicated in his attorney's letter; in fact, that I had been given no new instructions on the subject since I left Washington. But in quite an excited manner he insisted that here were the President's instructions as outlined in the attorney's letter. I had quietly to inform him that the usual way in which the President issued instructions to diplomatic representatives was through the Department of State, and that if that practice was departed from I must have the President's wishes over his own signature.

It was agreed, however, that the agent would wait in Madrid until I could communicate with Washington by cable. I very promptly received a cable message from the Secretary of State, saying that no new instructions had been issued to me and none were contemplated. When I informed the agent of the contents of the Secretary's cablegram, he left me in a high state of excitement and indignation, and on his return to Washington reported that I had been corrupted

by the Spanish Government. I afterwards learned that the "attorney," through whom the alleged instructions of the President had been sent to me, was the family dentist of the President who made occasional visits from New York to Washington to inspect the President's teeth. The claims agent, learning of this fact, had "retained" him in the interest of his clients, and the instructions to me, which might be so fateful in their results, had been issued by the Chief Magistrate in the intervals of gold-plugging!

It may be correctly inferred from what has already been written that the business of the American Legation at Madrid related almost exclusively to Cuban matters. In addition to the subjects alluded to, much of my time was taken up with getting American vessels out of trouble with the Cuban customs authorities. The duties on imports to the island were so high that they offered an incentive to smuggling, and all American vessels were not able to resist the temptation. Other innocent ones were frequently suspected, and seizures were frequent. The customs regulations were complicated and exacting, and, administered as they often were by dishonest officials, the American shippers and importers were constantly involved in controversies with them.

The passport system in Cuba was strict and the fees on account of it heavy, and the complaints of Americans respecting the enforcement of the regulations were quite serious. I was able to secure some modification of them, but the system continued to be maintained.

Restless and dissatisfied Cubans were seeking to make the United States a place of conspiracy and base of military operations against the island. The Spanish Government maintained an efficient system of espionage, and the Minister at Washington was by no means negligent in bringing the filibustering operations, supposed or real, to the attention of our authorities.

The trade and finances of Cuba were a fruitful source of discussion in the Cortes. The financial condition came under review annually with the voting of the budget, and it could scarcely be represented in a more wretched state than that depicted in the speeches of the members. Constantly growing deficits, temporary loans at ten and twelve per cent interest, the budget sought to be balanced by a bank loan in advance, the army six months or more behind in pay, taxation double that of Spain, were some of these conditions. We may learn something of the feeling of the country from the concluding words of a speech of Señor Moret, one of the most eloquent of the friends of Cuba. The fair island, he said, to be released from her wretched situation, needs to be supported on the vigorous arm of her old mother, and this support must be rendered in order to give her treasury full freedom. He was one of those who never should believe that Cuba could be separated from Spain — he believed it impossible; but if it should come, that day the sun would truly set on the Spanish dominions.

The sale of Cuba to the United States was a constant bugbear, which was frequently discussed in the Spanish press and debated in the National Chambers. In the days of the Ostend Manifesto and when the fiery Soule represented our Government at Madrid in ante-bellum times, there were grounds for such reports, but no serious project to that end had in later years been entertained by the administrations at Washington. Still the spectre appeared in the Spanish Chambers from time to time. During my residence, in one of the discussions in the Senate — it could not be called a debate, for all parties were of one mind, rather a flow of oratory — Cánovas, the Prime Minister, uttered the general sentiment of the nation when he declared that "never, in any eventuality, cost what it might, never would Spain cede to any foreign country a part of its territory; and, that it might be understood beyond the seas, he made the

declaration directly applicable to Cuba, which was all that remained of Spain's former glory, of the grand history of her great conquests in the other world; for with its loss she would lose more than life — national honor — and this the Spanish nation will never renounce."

The discussion closed by the unanimous adoption of a resolution by the Senate, which repelled "with indignation every project which tends to separate or transfer our Antilla [Cuba] from the mother country, for whose preservation there is no sacrifice which the noble and worthy Spanish nation is not ready to make."

General Prim, the most sagacious and courageous Spanish statesman of his day, saw clearly that Cuba was doomed to be lost to the Crown, and he felt that it would be good policy to anticipate this inevitable separation and make it of some value to the mother country. But the remark is attributed to him that if he should consent to the separation of the island, his countrymen would tear him to pieces with wild horses.

As soon as it was possible I secured the attention of the Minister of State of the Cánovas Cabinet to the project of a commercial reciprocity treaty for Cuba, and in a few conferences it became apparent that views were entertained on one side or the other which made an agreement impossible without important modifications or concessions. The Spanish Ministry, while sincerely desirous of making a treaty which would benefit Cuba and tend to revive its depressed industries, was restrained by powerful interests in the Peninsula. For a long time past it had been the policy of the Government to retain the import trade into Cuba and Porto Rico for the producers and manufacturers of the mother country. It had also been the practice to interpret "the most favored nation" clause of its treaties as obligating the Government to grant commercial privileges freely to all nations with which it had treaties. These two policies, if

adhered to, made a reciprocity treaty with the United States impracticable. There were other views entertained by the Spanish Government in conflict with those of our Government; and on the other hand some of the privileges sought to be obtained by us in a reciprocity treaty were objectionable to Spain.

I reached a point in the negotiations where I deemed it desirable to have a personal conference with the Secretary of State and possibly with the President; and upon representing the matter to Secretary Frelinghuysen I received authority by cable to make a visit to Washington, which I did in the spring of 1884.

After a full exchange of views with the Department of State, and after conferences with various organizations and interests in Washington and New York concerned in the Cuban trade and industries, I returned to Madrid, in June, 1884, and took up anew with the Spanish Government the commercial reciprocity treaty negotiations. After some weeks spent in discussing the matter with the Minister of State and the Minister of the Colonies (Ultramar — having special charge of the affairs of Cuba and Porto Rico), I came to the conclusion that the negotiations would drag along interminably, unless I could have some competent person with whom to negotiate directly, who could give his whole time to the subject and would be willing to master the infinite detail of trade statistics necessary to a full comprehension of the business in hand.

I accordingly took the responsibility of making a direct appeal to the Prime Minister, Señor Cánovas, whom I knew to be a man of decision and clear perception. I had already established very pleasant relations with him, was cordially received, and after stating to him the little progress made in our negotiations and the obstacles in the way, mainly growing out of the multiplicity of business in the hands of the two ministers of his Cabinet with whom I was carrying on nego-

tiations, and their consequent inability to give me the time required, I suggested the appointment of a special negotiator to take the matter in charge. He promised to take up the matter without delay with the ministers of the two departments concerned, and within a few days I had the pleasure of being informed that Señor Salvador de Abacete had been appointed a special plenipotentiary to negotiate and sign with me a treaty of commercial reciprocity.

I was entirely satisfied with the plenipotentiary named. He was a man of large experience in public affairs, having held important positions under the Government, at the time a Senator, and well fitted by experience and capacity to master the details of the business intrusted to him. Thenceforth the negotiations progressed steadily to the end. A final agreement was not reached, however, without much discussion, and questions arose which for the time seemed to threaten a disagreement. On the two points named, of the Peninsula trade and "the favored nation" clause, I had to appeal again to Señor Cánovas.

At last all difficulties were overcome, and on November 25, 1884, a treaty of commercial reciprocity was signed, satisfactory to the executive departments of the two Governments, to regulate the trade and commerce between the United States and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. Upon notifying the Department of State of the conclusion of the treaty, Secretary Frelinghuysen instructed me by cable to come to Washington at once, bringing the treaty with me. The Congress of the United States was about to assemble, and the treaty would be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to its ratification; and the object of ordering me to Washington was that I might be on the ground to furnish any desired information to the Department of State or the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate in the consideration of the treaty.

I reached Washington with the treaty on the morning of

December 8, and that same morning the treaty appeared in full in one of the New York papers, before the President had had an opportunity to transmit the official text to the Senate. It was an evidence of newspaper enterprise, as it had been telegraphed in full from Madrid, and it, with the schedules of articles, constituted a very lengthy document. A copy of the treaty had been obtained by bribing an official in the Spanish Ministry of State, who it is understood received two thousand dollars for the surreptitious copy. The offender was an unworthy Spanish nobleman, a count, and this act was all that saved his name from oblivion. To their credit, be it said, the Madrid press were unanimous in denouncing his conduct. The premature publication was of little consequence, as the treaty would have been made public by the Senate in due time and before any discussion by that body.

In negotiating and signing the treaty I had successfully completed the mission upon which I had been sent to Spain. It was such a convention as the President and the Secretary of State desired and had instructed me to make. It remained with the Senate to exercise its constitutional function in passing upon the question whether in its judgment it was for the interest of our country to give it effect and put it in operation.

The Senate had ratified the reciprocity convention with Mexico made the year before, and that was accepted by the President as an indorsement of the policy of commercial reciprocity with our neighboring countries. Had it been possible to submit the Cuban convention at that time, doubtless it would have been ratified likewise. But since that time important political events had occurred. President Arthur, who desired the nomination of his party for another term, had been defeated in the convention. The Republican Party had been beaten in the national election, and Mr. Cleveland was about to enter upon the Presidency with a policy opposed to commercial reciprocity. While there were Demo-

cratic Senators who were warm advocates of the Cuban treaty, the influence of the incoming Administration was thrown against it.

Neither was there a unanimous support by Republican Senators. Mr. Blaine, the defeated candidate for the Presidency, felt resentment at not being continued in the Arthur Cabinet after the death of President Garfield and at the alleged want of hearty support from the Administration in the recent campaign. He spent the winter in Washington when the treaty was before the Senate, and, although he became a few years later the champion of reciprocity, he gave his intimate friends to understand that it would be better not to act upon this measure. For instance, he said to Congressman Hitt, late his Assistant Secretary in the Department, but a supporter of the Cuban treaty, that "there are too many treaties before the Senate just now," referring to the Cuban and Dominican reciprocity conventions and the Nicaraguan Canal treaty.

President Arthur and his measures encountered the same embarrassment which attends the policy of a defeated President, as his term draws to its close — the powerful opposition of the incoming Administration and the lukewarmness of his own party. The Cuban treaty never came to a vote in the Senate, and it and the other two treaties mentioned were withdrawn from the Senate by President Cleveland a few days after his inauguration. There was a failure also of the Grant-Romero reciprocity convention with Mexico, for although it had been approved by the President and ratified by the Senate, yet it never went into effect because the House of Representatives refused to vote the necessary legislation for that purpose. For the time commercial reciprocity was out of favor in Congress.

CHAPTER XX

STATESMEN AND DIPLOMATS AT MADRID

The study of the public men I found one of the most interesting subjects in Spanish politics. In this study I was struck with the almost insignificant part that the nobility took in public affairs, and how in these later years the policies of the Government were directed by men who had risen from the ranks of the people. This fact was especially emphasized in the leaders of the political parties into which the country was divided. The three best known of these leaders were Cánovas, Sagasta, and Castelar.

Antonio Cánovas del Castillo was born of lowly but respectable parents at Málaga in 1828. As a youth he made his way to Madrid and obtained employment as a clerk in a railroad office. He used his wages to secure an education in the schools and at the University. After completing his studies he took to journalism as a profession, became a lecturer in the University, and established a reputation as a historical author. He entered upon his political career under Marshal O'Donnel. After the banishment of Isabella he became a steadfast adherent of the Bourbon dynasty, though he advocated its restoration only through peaceful means. When the change came and Alfonso was called back to assume the crown, Cánovas appeared holding a power of attorney or mandate from the coming king to assume the Government and organize a Ministry.

For six years he remained at the head of the Ministry and showed much industry and skill in reëstablishing the monarchy. The Constitution of 1876 which still prevails was his workmanship. It limited the franchise, curtailed the liberty of conscience and the press, and made a firm compact with

the Vatican. He did much to conciliate the Carlists by his friendly relations with the Pope and by his conservative measures. He courted the friendship of Austria and Germany, rather than of republican France.

His conservative policy continued so strenuous that the more liberal spirit of the country forced him temporarily from power, and he alternated with Sagasta, the Liberal Leader, in the conduct of the Government for many years. He was Prime Minister when Alfonso XII died, and he advised the Queen Regent Christina to place the Government again in the hands of his Liberal opponent, as a greater guarantee of the stability of the monarchy and protection from republican assaults. It was an exhibition of self-abnegation not common with politicians, and proved him more patriotic than ambitious. He continued, however, in public life and from time to time, with the fluctuations of parties, served as Prime Minister, holding that position when he was assassinated by an anarchist in 1897.

Señor Cánovas, whether judged by his record of achieved results or by his ability and attainments, must be regarded as the first Spanish statesman of his generation. He brought order out of the chaos into which his country had fallen. He had witnessed the overthrow of an absolute monarchy, of a constitutional monarchy, an elective monarchy, a republic, various regencies, civil and military dictatorships, until the people, wearied and exhausted by the violent transformations, under his guidance turned again to the Bourbons. It is his statesmanship more than any other influence which has given to the Peninsula the long era of continuous government, peace, and development enjoyed since 1874.

Of all the Prime Ministers with whom I had to do I found Cánovas the most satisfactory in our official intercourse. I had frequently to appeal to him from the dilatory practices of his colleagues. I found him broad-minded, prompt to comprehend and dispatch business, and I could place implicit

reliance in his promises. These are some of the elements which made him a successful statesman and gave him such a firm hold upon his followers.

He was not eloquent, but a very effective debater; not attractive in personal appearance, but every one who came in contact with him at once recognized him as a man of marked ability. As a writer and scholar he was well versed in social, economic, and philosophical questions. He stood among the first in the Madrid academies, and was a liberal patron of the arts and letters.

Praxedes Mateo Sagasta was born of humble parentage one year before Cánovas, and like him came from his province to Madrid for his education, which was for the profession of engineering, eking out his living meanwhile by work as a reporter for the press. In college he early imbibed advanced Liberal views, and entering upon political life he twice suffered exile on account of his advanced opinions. On the overthrow of Isabella he returned to Madrid, and accepted a place in the Cabinet under General Prim, was Prime Minister under Amadeus, and was holding that position under the Serrano regency when the army pronounced in favor of Don Alfonso. He quietly gave way to Cánovas, and bided his time for the assertion of his Liberal principles. He was soon returned to the Cortes and began a propaganda for an enlarged suffrage, the establishment of civil marriage, greater freedom of the press and association, trial by jury, and other measures more in consonance with the spirit of the times than the constitution framed by Cánovas. Some of those measures have been incorporated into laws, and whatever progress in more enlightened principles of government has been made by Spain in the last quarter of a century has been brought about mainly by the championship of Sagasta.

The greatest service which he was able to render his country was the cordial support and unswerving loyalty which he brought to the Dowager Regent Christina through the long

period of the minority of Alfonso XIII. After various ministerial mutations, he was in power when the young heir to the throne attained his majority, and he had the great gratification of having him crowned and well started upon his reign. He made himself *persona gratissima* both to the Queen Regent and the young heir, when the austere manners of the King-Maker Cánovas seemed to repel them in their personal relations.

Another epoch in the career of Sagasta was not so agreeable to him. When Cánovas was voted out in 1897, Sagasta became again Prime Minister, and was in power during the troublous times which brought on and ended the war with the United States. It was he who recalled Weyler from Cuba, proclaimed his intention to give complete autonomy to that island, and strove hard to avert war, the result of which he could readily foresee. But the fates were against him, "the pearl of the Antilles" must be forever lost, and the sinking of the *Maine* frustrated all his well-meant plans. He too had to bear the humiliation of directing the negotiations which resulted in stripping his proud nation of all its colonial possessions beyond the sea. But the reviving spirit of enterprise and development of the Peninsula in these later years is showing that the catastrophe which the nation suffered during his administration is not proving such a disaster as he and his countrymen supposed.

Sagasta was the most astute and accomplished Spanish politician of his day. He was sometimes termed "the James G. Blaine of Spanish politics." A born leader, bold and aggressive towards his opponents, he always commanded a large and devoted band of blind followers, and was not overscrupulous in his partisan methods. He was an eloquent speaker, full of life and fire, abounding in flattery or quiet irony as occasion required, skillful in debate, but much of a trimmer.

He was not prepossessing in personal appearance. John

Hay's description of him was: "He has a dark wrinkled face, small bright eyes, the smile and scowl of Mephistopheles." Prince Hohenlohe, the German Chancellor, described him as "a small, Jewish-looking, vivacious man." I always had very pleasant relations with him, but I never felt that I could lean upon him when I got into trouble with his ministers as I could upon Cánovas. He was too profuse in his promises to be always reliable. When I went to say good-bye to him on leaving Spain, he expressed great regret at my going, and in parting he said if I ever wanted anything in Spain, only send him *dos palabras* (two words) and it should be granted. He died in 1903 at the ripe age of seventy-six, having filled an important space in Spanish history and accomplished a useful work in his country's advancement.

The most widely known abroad and most admired at home of the political leaders was Emilio Castelar. But this reputation was based upon his brilliant oratorical gifts and his accomplishments as a writer, for he was not successful as a leader of men. He was inspired in his youth with progressive political ideas by his father, who was a leader of the Liberal movement in the wretched reign of Ferdinand VII, and was forced to spend much time in exile. The son early entered public life, and in the reign of Isabella II soon stood at the front of the radical leaders. Implicated in Prim's uprising in 1866, he was sentenced to death, but escaped to France, where he remained until the banishment of Isabella. He then returned to Madrid and became a steadfast and outspoken advocate of a republican form of government. When the short-lived republic came into existence in 1873 he became its president, and on the reëstablishment of the monarchy he went into voluntary exile. Being elected a deputy to the Cortes the following year, he took his seat and remained continuously a member up to the time of his death.

He did not agree with the majority of his republican colleagues, because he advocated bringing about a republic by

the peaceful means of public opinion. He was a consistent republican in that he never attended the official receptions at the Royal Palace, but he always maintained friendly personal and social relations with both Cánovas and Sagasta, and participated with them in the meetings of the Academy and other literary and scientific bodies. Both of these leaders always saw to it that Castelar was returned to the Cortes at every election, as his peaceful propaganda made him less dangerous to the monarchy than the conspiring republicans, and besides, these monarchical leaders could not deprive themselves nor the public of the pleasure of listening to his rhetorical orations in the Cortes. Whenever it was announced that Castelar was to speak, the chamber was crowded to suffocation, the women of high society going many hours in advance of the meeting, carrying a lunch with them. His speeches were applauded to the echo, but they had no apparent effect upon legislation.

He was a charming man in his social relations, and on his evenings at home his house was thronged with his personal friends and admirers, literary and scientific people, and politicians. He was a brilliant conversationalist, and was inclined to be the chief participant in the circle. All Americans, and especially the diplomatic representatives, were cordially welcomed by him. He had been presented with a life-sized portrait of Washington, which he showed with pride to his American visitors, rarely omitting the occasion to pronounce a eulogy on the subject of it. I was often at his house and he at my table and with my family, and we became quite endeared to him.

He lived very simply, depending upon his literary work and his university lectures for his income, as he received no salary as a member of the Cortes. When universal suffrage was adopted, he declared his mission at an end, and he rarely afterwards took part in public affairs, giving his attention to his literary pursuits. At his death he had nearly filled out the

allotted age of threescore years and ten. During his life he had commanded the respect and pride of all classes, and the Capital honored his memory with a funeral of imposing character.

There is another Spanish statesman who cannot be passed over without notice. Sigismundo Moret y Prendergast is one of the most advanced of the Liberal Party. He began his public career as the associate of Castelar, but he gave in his adhesion to the monarchy as the most practical and surest method of securing both permanent government and progressive principles. He has represented the advanced or radical wing of the Liberal Party, has frequently been a member of the Cabinet, and since I left Spain he has time and again held the post of Prime Minister. At the age of thirty, while Minister of the Colonies, he procured the passage of the law which eventually brought slavery to an end in Cuba. He was one of the most outspoken of the advocates of universal suffrage, strongly urges reforms in the army, and is an ardent free-trader.

He is a man of commanding presence, six feet high, with classical, clean-cut features, quite handsome, of prepossessing manners, and is an orator of superior merit. He is not only listened to with marked attention in the Cortes, but with eagerness at the University, where he lectures to the students on political economy and history. He has spent much time in England where he was for a time the Spanish diplomatic representative, and he and his charming family speak English fluently, an accomplishment not usual in Spanish society.

Going from St. Petersburg to Madrid, I noticed quite a contrast in the personnel of the Diplomatic Corps of the two Courts. The importance of Russia at that time in the political affairs of Europe led the Governments to send to St. Petersburg their most experienced and able representatives. Not so much importance attached to Madrid, for, while I found here diplomats of respectable experience and ability, none of

them had attained international eminence, and only a few of them afterwards achieved greater distinction; but these few are worthy of notice.

At the head of the Diplomatic Corps stood the Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Rampolla, a man of attractive personality and commanding talents, who later played a most important rôle at the Vatican. When he was yet a young man he had served as a councilor to the Nunciature at Madrid and, returning as the Nuncio, he at once assumed a distinguished position at this devoutly Catholic Court and in the Diplomatic Corps. He manifested much interest in American affairs, was often at my house in Madrid, and with him we established very cordial relations. Referring to one of his visits Mrs. Foster, in a letter to a friend, wrote: "When I came home I found both of my girls raving about the Pope's Nuncio, who had just been here making a visit. He was dressed in lavender gloves, lavender silk stockings, and lavender silk lining to his cloak! They declared him the most interesting, intelligent, fascinating man they had ever met, and I am afraid if he comes often they may be wanting to change their religion."

He was created a cardinal in 1885 and recalled to Rome to become Secretary of State to Pope Leo XIII. In this position he manifested his liberal principles and his statesmanship by advocating for the Vatican a policy towards France of a break with the monarchists and turning to the republic as representing the best form of constitutional government for that country. On the death of Leo he was the most prominent candidate for the succession, and would have been chosen Pope but for the opposition of Austria, whose rulers resented his French policy. Had he been made the head of the Church the complications with France which arose under Pius X would doubtless have been avoided. It has been well said that in such an emergency what the Vatican needed was not so much a saint as a statesman.

When I became Secretary of State under President Harrison, one of the most cordial letters of congratulation I received was from Cardinal Rampolla. The letter was in French, but I insert a translation as follows: —

Dear Mr. Minister, —

When I had the pleasure to reply, officially, to the kind communication which you addressed to the Holy See on the approach of the ceremonies that were to be held on the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, I should have been glad to add a word in private for the purpose of assuring you of the pleasing remembrance which I retain of the relations which existed between us at Madrid. Still I was unable to do this as soon as I wished, but I will no longer defer satisfying this desire of a heart which is grateful for the many kindnesses that have been shown me by you.

The thought never entered our heads, perhaps, while we were at Madrid, that, after we should have ceased to be colleagues in the Diplomatic Corps, we should sustain relations to each other as representatives of our respective governments. Fortunately this is the case at a time when the Pope is manifesting great and earnest sympathy for the American Union, and when that Union understands the views of my August Sovereign, which are as noble as they are lofty. The cordial relations between the two Ministers cannot therefore do otherwise than facilitate and increase the good understanding between them.

I hope, Mr. Minister, that your health will continue good, as well as that of all the members of your family, to whom I beg you to present my compliments, and to accept for yourself the sincere assurances of the high consideration with which I am Your Excellency's

Most Faithful Servant,

M. Card. Rampolla.

Rome, October 8th, 1892.

As indicating that the Cardinal's memory of our acquaintance was not altogether of such exalted matters as referred to in this letter, he inquired of a friend of mine recently, who called upon him in his retirement, if Mr. Foster was still giving as good dinners as he used to serve his friends in Madrid. Since the election of Piux X he has withdrawn from all participation in the foreign relations of the Church, living in retirement in one of the Vatican residences, holding the high post of Archpriest of St. Peter's.

Next to the Nuncio, the most striking character in the Diplomatic Corps was Sir Robert B. D. Morier, the British Minister. He was a pupil of Jowett, master of Balliol College, Oxford, and between them there existed a lifelong friendship and correspondence. His father was a diplomat before him, and he early entered the Service. Before coming to Madrid he had served in almost every Court of the German States, and possessed a better knowledge of German politics than any other foreigner of his time. He established an intimate friendship with the Crown Prince Frederick William, and allowed himself to be involved in the internal affairs of the country beyond the limits of diplomatic prudence, which brought him trouble later in his career.

He had a brusqueness of manner and unconventional ways which did not win friends, but he possessed unusual talents, was frank, and thoroughly sincere. He was not popular in diplomatic and court circles, but he seemed to take a fancy to me; we became good friends, and were much in each other's company. His blunt and straightforward character led him to raise a question of veracity with the Spanish Minister of State, he became *persona non grata* at Court, and he was transferred to St. Petersburg.

While at the latter capital he had his celebrated altercation with Prince Bismarck, who, inspired by hatred of all the friends of the Crown Prince, charged him with betraying the movements of the German army during the war with France.

He was not dismayed by the attack of his doughty opponent, but met it boldly, and thoroughly vanquished "the man of blood and iron." At that time Bismarck was out of favor at the Russian Court, and the controversy gave Morier great prestige and influence at St. Petersburg. To show this favor the Czar and all the imperial family attended the next ball at the British Embassy. Dr. Andrew D. White, our Minister there at the same period, complains that the Russian Government allowed Sir Robert to outwit him respecting the fur-seal controversy. There is no doubt the Russian Government in that matter acted in bad faith towards us, but the promotion of our representative to the rank of ambassador would not have enabled him, as he supposed, to overcome Sir Robert's preponderating influence.

There were attached to the British Legation in Madrid at this time two interesting and promising young secretaries. Maurice de Bunsen came of a diplomatic ancestry and has since held prominent posts under his Government. Arthur Hardinge, who was given the sobriquet of *el Sabio* (the wise one) by his colleagues, was my companion in our sojourn at *La Granja* in attendance on the Court, and where we had little else to do but wander about over the mountain-sides or in the quaint places of near-by Segovia. He became a great Oriental scholar, accompanied the present Emperor of Russia on his tour through India, has held the post of Resident at Zanzibar, succeeded Sir Mortimer Durand as Minister at Teheran, and has since been promoted to higher diplomatic employment.

Another difference which existed between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Madrid was the larger representation of diplomats at the latter from the Latin-American countries, almost all of them being represented. Chief among these was General Ramon Corona, the Minister from Mexico. He had been appointed to his post while I was Minister in his country, and before leaving for Madrid I had the pleasure

of giving him and his attractive American wife a dinner, attended by the Mexican President and Cabinet.

During my residence in Madrid, General Corona was the victim of a disagreeable incident which recalled the fateful history of the Maximilian Empire in Mexico. On the King's birthday in December, 1883, a reception was held in the Royal Palace as usual. Following the established practice, the King and Queen, with the infantas, descended from the royal dais to hold a brief conversation with the heads of missions, ranged in front of the dais. First in order stood the Nuncio. After talking with him, the Queen addressed the French Ambassador and also conversed with some attachés of the Embassy, presented by the Ambassador. Next in order was General Corona. Without exchanging a single word with him, and with the faintest movement of the head, she passed on and entered into conversation with the Italian Minister who stood next, and she likewise conversed with every other head of mission. The slight was observed by the whole corps.

On a previous occasion at the Palace, the King noticed the absence of recognition on the part of the Queen, and, supposing she did not know him, the King asked the Queen in his presence and hearing if she did not know General Corona. She very promptly and with considerable spirit replied, "No, I do not know General Corona; I only know the Minister of Mexico," and passed on. This incident was not at an official reception and not seen by the Diplomatic Corps, but the last action was of such a public and marked character, General Corona decided to bring it to the attention of the Minister of State, which he did in a personal interview. In doing so he said it was barely possible the Queen may have been prejudiced against him personally by false and malevolent reports.

The Minister of State said the subject was of too personal and delicate a character for him to take any action respecting

ROYAL PALACE, MADRID

it. Whereupon General Corona told him that his duty to his Government required that he should not in future expose himself to such public affronts, and that until he received some indication that the omission of the Queen was not intentional or he received other instructions from his Government, he would be compelled to decline further invitations to the Palace, stating in his note of declination that it was "for reasons communicated to the Minister of State."

General Corona took part in the siege of Queretaro, and the Archduke Maximilian, the uncle of the Queen of Spain, was made prisoner by the troops of his command. Maximilian was treated by Corona with the greatest consideration, he declining to receive the tender of his sword, and sending him with a high officer to the commanding general. Immediately after the surrender he marched his division to another part of the republic, and took no part in the trial and execution of Maximilian.

The month following the scene at the Palace above described a new Ministry came into office, and on being again invited to the Palace, General Corona sent his declination in the terms indicated. On the next day the new Minister of State called on him and said he had held an interview with the King, who explained that the Queen thought he had acted as one of the members of the court which had condemned her uncle to death. The King added that he hoped General Corona would attend the reception, and that the Queen would be happy to receive and treat him as the other representatives of foreign nations. General Corona attended the reception, and the Queen was quite gracious in her intercourse with him. The same spirit of resentment was for a time manifested by Austrian representatives at other capitals to their Mexican colleagues, but since diplomatic relations have been renewed between the two countries the execution of Maximilian has ceased to be an element of discord.

The Spanish Minister to the United States at the time of my appointment was Señor Barca, an accomplished gentleman, of diplomatic experience, and quite popular in Washington. Diplomatic circles and society were greatly shocked to learn that he had committed suicide in a New York hotel. The deed was instigated, it is understood, by the fact that he had been privately recalled by his Government on account of some charges against him at home which were never made public. Some years before, he had rendered an important service to the United States, while Under-Secretary of State, in being instrumental in the arrest and return to New York of "Boss" Tweed, who had fled to Spain. No extradition treaty existed between the two countries, but it was quietly arranged that the refugee should be placed on board an American man-of-war which conveniently put in at a Spanish port.

Señor Barca was succeeded at Washington by Juan Valera, who was best known as a writer, being the most popular living novelist of Spain and with some reputation as a poet. He was not without political and diplomatic experience, as at the time of his appointment he held the office of Senator and had recently retired from the post of Minister to Portugal. A few months before his appointment to the United States he had been called home from Lisbon to cast his vote in the Senate to sustain the Ministry in a crisis, which he resented and resigned. The new Ministry rewarded his independence with the mission to Washington.

Those who knew him well at home predicted that he would not make a successful Minister, as he did not have the disposition or business capacity to master the intricate and annoying questions involved in our relations with Cuba, notwithstanding his social gifts and his literary talents. The prediction proved correct, as he found the harassing affairs of Cuba irksome, he wearied of his duties, and after a short sojourn tendered his resignation. In writing home of the dis-

comforts he suffered in America, he especially complained of the cooking as wretched. Members of our Legation who were familiar with the cuisine of Spanish hotels, suggested that he had probably failed to take with him a full supply of rancid oil.

CHAPTER XXI

SPAIN, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

Of all the countries of my foreign residence, I found Spain the most interesting from almost every point of view. From the earliest dawn of European history down through the ages it has maintained this interest. It seems quite certain that it attracted the attention of the fleets of Solomon and his Hebrew merchants. It was an object of interest to the Phœnician traders and pirates. The early Greeks peopled its shores. The Carthaginians covered it with colonies. It was the route through which Hannibal and his vast armies made their descent upon Italy, in the life-and-death struggle with Rome for supremacy of the Mediterranean, and many traces of their presence are still seen in the Peninsula.

Under the sway of the Romans it became one of the fairest and most prosperous portions of the globe. The Apostle Paul, in his great desire to see Spain, planned for it one of his missionary journeys, and the Apostle James, according to Catholic tradition, carried to it Christianity, became its patron saint, and his bones now rest in one of its cathedrals. It was the birthplace of the Emperor Trajan, the famous imperial builder, and Roman roads, aqueducts, bridges, and ruined cities still attest its glory at that period. The successors of Rome, the Goths, have given us some of its most magnificent architecture. The evidence of the Moorish occupation is seen in the beauties of Cordova, Granada, and other southern cities. The reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, the great act of Columbus, and the achievements of Spanish arms both in America and Europe, in the golden age of this people, lend a unique charm to the Peninsula. The

wars of the Spanish Succession of the eighteenth century, and the Spanish Marriage, of the nineteenth, with the momentous consequences of the Franco-German War, illustrate the intense interest which Spanish politics awaken in other countries. Added to these its art treasures, the attractive characteristics of its people, and its beauties of nature, present to the foreigner a country unsurpassed in its objects of interest.

Madrid, like St. Petersburg, is a capital built to order, to serve political purposes. As the latter by the indomitable will of Peter was planted upon a swamp, to enable him to have a freer outlet to the ocean, so it was decreed in the later years of Spanish history that on the barren upland of New Castile, with its unattractive features, should be built the capital of the nation because it was its geographical centre. Here in the midst of a dreary waste was established the royal residence, despite the fact that the country possessed scores of very fitting localities for such a purpose. Up to recent years Madrid could boast of few architectural features beyond the Royal Palace, which though not among the largest is one of the most attractive in Europe. But Madrid has shared in recent years in the growth and improvement of European capitals. The population has largely increased, new and pretentious public buildings have been erected, elegant private palaces have multiplied, the avenues and drives have been beautified and extended, and it is coming to be a really showy city.

Society in Madrid in my day could hardly be called brilliant, compared with St. Petersburg or other northern cities of the Continent. Dinner-giving was not common, except in the Diplomatic Corps. Public banquets occurred at intervals, with much after-dinner oratory. Once or twice in a season there was a grand ball or fancy-dress party in the palace of some of the grandees, but as a rule the majority of the nobility of Spain were largely reduced in their fortunes, and could not afford much extravagance in living. There were a few

dinners, balls, and receptions in the Royal Palace — the first very perfectly served but quite formal, the second distinguished by elegant toilettes and, it is claimed, the finest display of jewels to be seen in Europe, and the third very tiresome and stupid affairs; but that is the usual characteristic of such affairs elsewhere.

The great feature of Spanish society is the *paseo*, or public drive, where in the late afternoon the fashionable population assemble in carriages, on horseback, or on foot, to see each other and exchange salutations. The *Retiro* of Madrid is not so extensive or so highly adorned as the Bois de Boulogne, Hyde Park, or the Island Park of St. Petersburg, but it is superior to them all as a fashionable outdoor resort. Here were gathered every afternoon hundreds of gay equipages, and on festal days even thousands of carriages, which made the round of the somewhat contracted drive at such a slow gait that the occupants were able to salute each other, or to draw up at the roadside and converse with their friends among the strollers on the walks. Added interest was given by the quite regular attendance of the King and Queen and the Infantas, with their gay equipages and escorts.

While, as I have said, dinners and grand balls are not frequent, there is a feature of Madrid society quite unique in its way. The *tertulias* are the special charm of the fashionable circles of the Capital, when various of the noble or wealthy families are at home on certain evenings to their friends, and when the social and political world gathers to gossip and pass a pleasant hour. They are usually too frivolous to resemble the French *salon*, and they are enlivened by choice music and by dancing if the company feel so inclined. They afford, also, an opportunity for the young people to come together and enjoy themselves, under the eyes of their elders — a great privilege in a country where the intercourse of the young men and women is under strict surveillance.

In these evening parties, although the majority of the

company may have a knowledge of French, Spanish is almost invariably used in conversation, a practice quite in contrast with the society of St. Petersburg, where French is the common method of intercourse. The Spanish race are quite proud of their language and are pleased to hear it used by foreigners. American Ministers as a rule have had no knowledge of the language and have found themselves much handicapped for lack of it. Caleb Cushing and James Russell Lowell were exceptions to this rule.

Early in my residence an incident occurred which impressed me with the great gratification with which the Spaniards hear their language used by foreigners. The anniversary of the discovery of America was observed with unusual pomp by a great banquet in one of the theatres. The entire body of the great house was filled with banqueters presided over by the Prime Minister, and the galleries were crowded with the ladies of high society in gala dress. I was called upon to respond to the toast in honor of Columbus, which I did in some rather commonplace phrases. But they were spoken in Spanish, and as I took my seat, or attempted to do so, I was greeted with an immense ovation from the galleries, and from the floor I was literally assaulted by an enthusiastic mob of admirers intent on giving me the Spanish embrace in appreciation of my little speech. I was thenceforth a noted personage at banquets in the Capital.

The most distinctively national feature of Spanish life is the bull-fight. It is inaugurated annually on Easter Sunday, and is continued weekly on Sundays throughout the summer. It also takes place on the great feast-days of the Church when they occur on other days. If a foreign monarch, prince, or other great personage visits the Capital, a bull-fight is tendered in his honor. It is the national sport, and to it the people, high and low, are most devotedly attached. It is related that when Joseph Bonaparte reached the Capital to assume the government as king, the great question which

agitated the people was, not what would be his political policy, but whether he would allow or suppress the bull-fights.

I had seen the so-called sport once only in Mexico, but I was told that alone in Madrid could it be seen in its genuine splendor, and I visited the spectacle once again to satisfy my curiosity, or (might I be permitted to say?) to study the institutions of the country. To me it was cruel and repulsive, and I had no desire to repeat the visit.

On the day the *fiesta* occurs Madrid is all excitement. As the hour approaches, the streets leading to the amphitheatre are thronged with all manner of vehicles and people on foot, and as the game progresses, extra editions of the newspapers are issued at frequent intervals, giving minute details of the contest with each bull.

As indicating the anxiety of the population to secure tickets of admission to the fight, I give the following press statement of the sale of tickets which occurred during my residence, the record of an experience happening frequently. On the afternoon of one day before the performance, the line of applicants for tickets began to form, the office for sale of tickets not to be opened till the next morning. At two o'clock in the morning there were two thousand persons standing in line, and at six there were three thousand in line. At eight o'clock in the morning, when the office was opened, a notice was posted that the plaza contained 12,565 seats, and that, after deducting those reserved for permanent ticket-holders and officials, there were available for sale 4662 seats. It thus became apparent that only a part of those in line could obtain tickets, and a struggle for preferred places began, which grew into a riot beyond the control of the police, and order was only restored by a large detachment of cavalry, which had to charge the crowd with drawn swords. A large portion of those in waiting had to depart without tickets, some of whom had been in line for twenty-four hours.

Another incident of the same period illustrates the intensity of devotion to the national pastime. On account of the cholera scourge, which was so destructive in many parts of Spain in 1885, of which I shall give an account later, the governor of Toledo issued an order to suspend the bull-fights in one of the towns in his jurisdiction because of the virulence there of the pestilence. Two nights before the day when the performance usually took place, the whole population turned out, and waited upon the town council, petitioning to allow it to be held. The answer given through the alcalde was that the council had no authority to take the action demanded, and they would have to send their petition to the higher authorities. This so angered the crowd that they attacked the town-hall with stones, severely wounding several of the police and the village priest who sought to quell the disturbance. The next day they broke into the *corral* of a cattle-raiser, carried away a drove of cattle, kept them overnight, and the next day held their bull-fight, in spite of the authorities and of the terrible epidemic which was decimating the community.

Soon after my arrival in Spain the whole nation was thrown into a great state of excitement by three successive attempts at revolution, which occurred almost simultaneously in different and widely separated parts of the country. I was at La Granja at the time, in attendance on the King and Court on their summer vacation. The Prime Minister, Sagasta, was at a French watering-place, and the other members of the Cabinet were widely scattered. The King on receipt of the news rushed off to Madrid, to which place the Ministry was hastily summoned. In the court and diplomatic circles all the conversation was about the revolutionary movements, and many wild rumors were put in circulation. These events carried me back in memory to my experiences in Mexico, which had been the land of *pronunciamentos*, but it seemed the mother country had become an apt scholar.

These movements appeared to have been concerted by Ruiz Zorrilla, a Republican leader then in exile. But just as the whole country was being thrown into consternation, public funds threatened with a panic, and the Government had taken every precaution and set on foot measures to resist a widespread and formidable revolution, the movement was found to be a miserable failure. It was not responded to in any of the strong republican localities, and Castelar and other prominent leaders of the party declared against a change of government by force of arms. In my report of these events to the Department of State, I wrote: "During the eight years' reign of Alfonso XII, the country has enjoyed an unprecedented era of prosperity and advancement, and no inconsiderable share of the credit for this happy state of affairs is due to the wisdom and prudence of the young King himself. He has steadily shown thus far a tendency towards liberal and progressive principles and practices of government, which has had a marked influence in reconciling the commercial, industrial, and property interests of the country to his reign; and it would prove a public calamity of no ordinary moment to Spain, if the premature and futile attempts of extreme republicans should lead him to reverse his policy and throw himself into the hands of the Conservative and retrograde elements of the country."

Political parties in Spain are quite complex in their composition and their distinctive principles are not easily defined, but in general terms they may be divided into Conservatives, Liberals, and Republicans. From time to time they undergo some transformation, as old issues give place to new ones. During my residence in the country the Conservatives embraced the greater portion of the elements instrumental in reëstablishing the Bourbon dynasty by placing the young King Alfonso XII on the throne, and to them were added such former adherents of Don Carlos as took any part in public affairs. Under the administration of

this party the Constitution of 1876, still in force, was framed. In its ranks were to be found the extreme royalists and partisans of the temporal power of the Church of Rome.

The Liberal party claimed to be distinctively and uncompromisingly monarchical and loyal to the Bourbon dynasty, but it sought to harmonize these conditions with the progressive and liberal tendencies of European governments. Among the measures which it proposed to the nation was (1) a law establishing civil marriage, (2) a law of associations and public meetings, (3) establishment of the jury system, (4) reform of the penal code, in order more fully to protect individual rights, and regulate the liberty of the press, and (5) enlargement of the right of suffrage. Some of these measures have been adopted by the country in later years, the elective franchise especially being greatly enlarged. During my residence in Madrid the population numbered about 400,000, but the registry contained only 12,000 voters, of whom a large number were stipendiaries of the Government.

The Republicans represent a large minority in most of the cities and manufacturing centres, they are an important factor in the elections, and a small number of their party are always chosen to the Cortes. But they exercise very little direct influence in legislative affairs, because of their internal differences, being divided into at least three distinct sections with opposing details of policy, and with no concert of action among themselves. Many real Republicans are found in the Liberal party, they regarding it as the best medium of promoting republican principles.

Party lines are not very closely observed and they often overlap each other. Conservatives of the milder type find little difficulty in transferring their allegiance to the Liberal leaders on certain questions, and the Liberal party has various groups which often become antagonistic to each other. Even the Republicans are sometimes found voting with the

Conservatives to overthrow the Liberals. These unstable conditions explain the frequent and sometimes sudden changes of ministries.

The party in power always carried the elections in my day, and though the manipulation of the registry had its official constraint it managed to return a large majority to the Cortes. But in the course of time disintegration in the ranks began, and by a combination of the opposite party and the disaffected elements of the ruling administration some fine day the latter found itself outvoted in the Cortes, the opposite party came to power, ordered an election, and had a triumphant majority in the new Cortes.

I have mentioned the creation of the extreme Liberal Ministry of Posada Herrera, under which I was enabled to take my first successful step towards the reciprocity treaty. It was formed out of the Liberal party, of which Sagasta was the leader. Only a few months sufficed to have it outvoted in the Cortes. The defeated Ministry tendered its resignation. The King asked it to continue in office, offering to dissolve the Cortes and call a new election. There would probably have been no difficulty in carrying the election, as usual, but an unexpected obstacle was encountered. Señor Moret, the Minister of the Interior, whose department had charge of the election machinery, was a thoroughly conscientious man, and refused to assume the responsibility of carrying out the existing campaign practice, and the Ministry had no choice but to insist upon its resignation.

The Conservatives came into power again, and as soon as the Cabinet was organized governors were appointed for the forty-nine provinces of Spain from among the politicians then in Madrid, belonging to the Conservative party, and they left at once for their respective districts to assume charge of their offices and to prepare for the coming election. In the Cortes just dissolved, out of a poll of 347 deputies there were only 44 Conservative votes; but the

Ministry was sustained in the next Cortes, with an overwhelming majority.

The Ministers are required to be members of the Cortes, but the British practice does not prevail which compels a member on his appointment to the Ministry to have his appointment confirmed by a new election. A Minister can take part in the proceedings of both houses, but he can only vote in the body of which he is a member. Cabinet members upon retirement from office receive fifteen hundred dollars per year during their lives, and with the frequent changes of ministries this becomes a serious charge upon the treasury. A peculiar practice of Spanish ministries was that of the transaction of business at late hours of the night. It was quite usual for the Cabinet Ministers to go to their departments after dinner, or even after the theatre or opera. The Minister of State received the diplomatic representatives in the afternoon, but occasionally in that department I had appointments for an hour after dinner. I had frequent occasions to go to the Department of the Colonies and of the Interior, and when I asked for an appointment with the Ministers it was generally fixed for ten o'clock at night, and sometimes later.

Prince Hohenlohe, German Chancellor, went to Madrid in 1885 to represent the Emperor at the funeral of Alfonso XII. After a few days' stay in the Capital he records in his "Memoirs" his impressions of Spanish politics, after a dinner at the German Embassy, when the subject was discussed with the German and Austrian Ministers and other members of the Diplomatic Corps. The entry in his diary is as follows: "It appears that here everything depends on satisfying some hundred thousand Spaniards of the cultivated classes in providing them with places and opportunities of making money. The people seem indifferent. The proof is that the present Government has all the votes in its own hands, and will itself take care that a certain number of Opposition members

are also elected. The whole thing is a system of exploitation of the most abominable kind, a caricature of constitutionalism, phrases, and thievery."

This is just such an opinion as is likely to be formed by even an experienced statesman, who spends but a few days in Madrid and listens to the gossip and criticism in diplomatic after-dinner circles, but it is hardly a correct statement of Spanish politics. There are doubtless many useless officials in the departments, and the elections are largely controlled by the party in power; but there is no wholesale change of the subordinate officials on the advent of a new Ministry; public opinion is often expressed in the elections; and the members of the Cabinet are almost uniformly men of high character and integrity. The two party leaders, who were almost continuously and alternately at the head of the Government, lived very plainly; Sagasta died a poor man, and Cánovas only enjoyed wealth in the last few years of his life through a rich wife.

While the lower house of the Cortes, the Chamber of Deputies, is elective, and usually changes with each new Ministry, the Senate is a much more stable body. It is made up of three approximately equal elements — first, those who hold seats in their own right, as certain of the hereditary nobility, archbishops, field-marshals, etc.; second, life members appointed by the Crown; and, third, elective members chosen for ten years by corporations of the State, namely, the Council of State, the judiciary, universities, bar and medical associations, etc. The Senate is seldom an obstruction to legislation, as it usually follows the action of the Deputies.

The grandees, to entitle them to seats, must show that they possess an income of not less than twelve thousand dollars and pay certain fees. Many of them, in their impoverished condition, cannot show such an income or are not willing to pay the heavy fees, and hence do not qualify. My

attention was attracted to the comparatively slight influence exercised upon the politics of the nation by the Spanish nobility, who in the palmy days of the Peninsula were the great bulwark of the throne. In the ministries of my time there were few grandees to be found, and in none of them did the nobility exercise a commanding influence.

The opening of the first session of the Cortes is quite a brilliant affair and attracts general attention. The King and Queen and the Infantas, accompanied by the court ladies, go from the palace to the Chamber of Deputies in antique state carriages, each drawn by six white horses, and escorted by a detachment of cavalry, the streets through which they pass being lined with masses of people. The Diplomatic Corps are invited to attend in uniform, the ladies in court dresses, with white mantillas over their heads, and a tribune is provided for them adjoining the Throne. Every seat in the chamber is occupied and the galleries are crowded with the élite of Spanish society. The King and Queen are seated on the royal dais and the Infantas below them, supported by the members of the Cabinet and the court ladies. The principal ceremony is the reading by the King of the speech prepared for him by the Ministry. Altogether it constitutes one of the most attractive monarchical pageants to be seen in Europe.

The newspapers of Madrid exercised an important influence upon public affairs. They were quite numerous and represented all shades of political sentiment. In my time telegraphic news was very limited, but they were ably edited, and much attention was given to the debates in the Cortes and to political questions. The Government possessed the power of a severe censorship, but it was seldom enforced, and the liberty of discussion was freely exercised. A specialty of the Capital were the comic papers, which often contained excellent cartoons, generally of a political nature. Long before they became common in the United States the Span-

ish papers were producing cartoons, and no one prominent in public life long escaped their notice.

During the turbulent times of Isabella, and up to the reëstablishment of the monarchy under Alfonso XII, the army was the principal root or instrument of the troubles of Spain; and revolutionary movements during my residence, to which I have referred, all had their origin in the army. Its reorganization was recognized by all intelligent statesmen as a pressing necessity, but even the most liberal ministries have found it a very difficult problem. And, besides, it did not as a rule suit their purposes to effect any great reform, as it was through the army they in large measure manipulated the elections. Through the army also all important changes of government have been brought about.

In my day the Spanish army numbered about 75,000 men, but it had more generals than Germany or France. The statistics of that time showed a total of 20,500 officers. There was a captain-general for every 11,000 soldiers including non-commissioned officers, one lieutenant-general for every 1000, a major-general for 693, a brigadier-general for 271, a colonel for 195, lieutenant-colonel for 99, major for 42, captain for 18, lieutenant for 15, ensign for 6. These figures alone were a sufficient justification for the demand of Liberal statesmen for a reform of the army, without the necessity of a reference to the deplorable history of the country in recent times occasioned by it.

The religious question has always played an important part in Spanish politics. Since the extermination of the Protestants by the Inquisition under Philip II, the country has remained almost wholly Catholic, and has been one of the most devoted adherents of the Pope and his temporal power. After the overthrow of Isabella II, liberty of worship was proclaimed, but only temporarily, as with the reëstablishment of the Bourbons in the person of Alfonso XII, the supremacy of the Catholic Church was recognized. The article

of the Constitution of 1876 on the subject, still in force, is as follows: "The Catholic Apostolic Roman religion is that of the State. The nation obligates itself to maintain the worship and its ministers. No person shall be molested in the territory of Spain for his religious opinions, nor for the exercise of his particular worship, saving the respect due to Christian morality. Nevertheless, no other ceremonies nor manifestations in public will be permitted than those of the religion of the State."

This article has been the subject of much discussion, and its somewhat ambiguous and evasive character has enabled the different Ministries to place upon it a liberal or restrictive character, as suited their purposes. It was in my day construed to prevent any outward manifestation of Protestant worship. No church edifice could be erected, nor could any sign be placed on the outside of a house in which such worship was held; and no bell-ringing or religious procession on the streets was allowed to Protestants. The British Government provided a chaplain to its Legation, but as there was no suitable room for public service in the Legation premises, a hall was rented in a private house, but no outward sign was allowed on the street to direct the worshipers to it. It was the custom of my family to attend this chapel or the Protestant Spanish service, which was likewise held in a private house.

While considerable freedom of the press was allowed in political matters, no attacks were permitted on church dogma or the clergy. A case came under my observation of the arrest and condemnation to two years' imprisonment of a native pastor for publishing a reply to an attack of a priest on the Protestants. An intelligent Spanish statesman once remarked to an American diplomat, in discussing the article of the Constitution above quoted: "The provision for freedom of worship in the Constitution is a mere abstract proposition — it can never have any practical value except for

foreigners. I cannot conceive of a Spaniard being anything but a Catholic."

The experience of one of the secretaries who served under me in the Legation illustrates the strictness with which the laws relating to the Church were enforced. He became enamoured of a Spanish young lady, who had been baptized in the Catholic Church, but as he had been reared in the Presbyterian Church he was unwilling to be married by the priests, with Catholic ceremonies, and desired to have the marriage in conformity with the civil forms and by a Protestant clergyman, to which the young lady was agreed. He went to the authorities and procured all the forms and instructions required, to conform to which two months were consumed in securing the necessary certificates.

When he thought all was in due form and they were ready to be married, the magistrate discovered that there was a law which forbade a Protestant from marrying a Catholic. He thereupon had to resort to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to have the King call a Council of State and issue a royal decree, thereafter permitting Protestants and Catholics to marry by civil process. This consumed more weeks, but served the good purpose of modifying the old law. The Secretary said the documents and certificates he was required to procure made a pile a foot high, and as all had to be on stamped paper the cost to him for stamps amounted to about sixty dollars.

The expense and delay in these ceremonies are not confined to the persons who resort to the civil marriage, but likewise attend those performed by the Catholic clergy. In the vicar's office a fee of twelve dollars was charged. An extra fee of thirty dollars was charged if haste was desired by the omission of the publication of the banns, and the priest who performed the ceremony received six dollars. The delays and expense attending marriages are the chief cause of the unlawful unions in Spain. The rate of illegitimacy is very

high in the country, especially in Madrid, where it was computed to be twenty per cent of the births.

A notable religious event occurred during my residence in Spain. St. James the Greater, or Santiago, has been for ages the patron saint of the nation and his anniversary is always greatly honored. The Cathedral of Santiago in Galicia has been one of the most celebrated among the Catholic sanctuaries as the burial-place of St. James. For many centuries an incessant stream of pilgrims flowed to this remote place, and especially the gallant young gentlemen, not only of Spain but of France and Italy, came in great numbers to pay due honors at the tomb of the great militant saint. On account of these pilgrimages a great number of wealthy monasteries were established, at which the pilgrims were entertained, and a thriving business was maintained.

Up to comparatively recent times no one wished or dared to inquire as to the genuineness of the relics said to be reposing under the high altar, but in the iconoclastic period of the French Revolution doubts began to arise, and some investigation was made into the history of the Apostle James, the son of Zebedee. From the Gospel narratives he was found to be of a fiery temper, favored extreme measures, and was credited with worldly ambition; all of which qualities fitted him to be the patron saint of Spain. But unfortunately the history of his career as an apostle after the death of his Master was very defective, he being only twice mentioned, once just after the ascension, and then about ten years later when he was put to death by Herod. No Catholic writer of eminence asserted that there was any authentic history to show that he was ever in Spain, but there was an abundance of legends to show that he brought the Gospel to its people, and it could not be proved that he was never in the Peninsula.

Nevertheless the stream of pilgrimage in great measure ceased, the monasteries fell into decay, and Santiago lost much of its importance as a sanctuary. In this condition of

affairs the energetic and pious Archbishop of Santiago set to work to establish the authenticity of the sacred relics and restore the decaying fortunes of the cathedral and its appendages. In excavating under the high altar the bones of three persons were discovered, and the Archbishop caused a *procès verbal* to be drawn up to show that they were the veritable remains of the Apostle James and his disciples Athanasius and Theodore, and this was transmitted to Rome. After four years of study by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, the Pope, on the twenty-second of May, 1884, confirmed the *procès verbal*, and from one end of the Peninsula to the other there were great rejoicings, and the famous patron saint was restored to the confidence and veneration of the whole nation. It does not appear, however, that there has been a great revival of industries in the precincts of the sacred city of Santiago. The era of pilgrimages seemingly has passed.

The devotion of the ruling political parties to the Church and their close attachment to the Papal Concordat have had more than one deleterious effect upon the country. Probably the most serious of these is the illiterate condition of the people, Spain being the least educated of the nations of Western Europe. Such has not always been its condition. In the time of the Empire the Roman cities of the Peninsula were the centres of learning. The names of Lucan and Martial, the Senecas and Quintilian, natives of Spain, bear evidence of the intelligence of its sons. During the Arab domination its civilization, its universities, schools, and libraries were so celebrated that they were frequented by Christian students from all countries of Europe, while the latter slept in ignorance. In Spain the mediæval Hebrew literature also reached its highest development. In its golden age, following the expansion in America, the universities of Spain were again the centres of learning, and the Spanish language and literature, as well as its customs, controlled the Courts of Europe.

Until very recently the education of the people has been under the control of the Church. Even so enlightened a statesman as Señor Cánovas, at the restoration of the monarchy, reversed the liberal policy as to educational matters which had been established after the expulsion of Isabella, and he caused a series of religious test acts to be passed and enforced them unflinchingly upon the universities and high schools. As a result a considerable number of professors who refused to submit, including some of the most eminent names in Spain, were ejected from their chairs and thrown into prison. Señor Juan F. Riaño, who at various times was Director of Public Instruction in the Sagasta ministries, sought to mitigate these enactments, and of late years the control of the Church in educational matters has been greatly curtailed.

One of the most baleful results of this educational repression is its influence upon Spanish women. They are naturally clever and more active in their intelligence than the men, but with rare exceptions they are almost entirely without a liberal education. I have noticed the intellectual activity of the Russian women and the great influence they have exercised upon European society. Such characteristics are seldom found among the Spanish women. In the *tertulias* and at dinner-parties there are bright, sprightly, and beautiful women, who make themselves entertaining with the current gossip, but rarely is one met who cares to indulge in intellectual conversation.

But I found some notable exceptions. Doña Emilia de Riaño, the wife of the Director of Public Instruction, was the daughter of Señor Gayangos, the most accomplished Arabic and Hebrew scholar of his day and a high authority and critic of art. She spent much time with her father in England, where she was chiefly educated. Her house in Madrid was filled with a rare collection of works of art and literature, and her home was the resort of a company of Spanish

scholars and educated people, difficult to find in any other house in the Capital, and she was the central personage of that circle. Brilliant but modest in conversation, she was ready to discuss literature, art, politics, and the world's affairs with an intelligence seldom found in any society. My family and I were frequent visitors at her house and came to be greatly attached to her. Walks with her through the picture-gallery of Madrid, the most notable in the world, were red-letter days in our lives. Her knowledge of the porcelains and ceramic art of Spain was very complete, and she had an intimate acquaintance with its literature. In passing through London on our way to Madrid, Mr. Lowell told us of Madame Riaño, and gave me the following characteristic letter to her:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LONDON, May 30, 1883.

DEAR MADAME DE RIAÑO, —

You will naturally (you who are so kind to Americans) come to know my friend General Foster, who is (I am glad to say) to be our Minister in Madrid, but that you may have that pleasure the sooner, and especially that he may have it, I give him this. I will tell you what you would never learn from him, that he has served his country with great distinction both in the army and in civil life, and you know very well that I do not give anybody the chance of knowing you unless they are themselves worth knowing.

Mr. Foster brings with him his wife and daughter. Miss Nordhoff (daughter of an old friend of mine) also accompanies him. You will be good to them for my sake, I am sure, till you learn to be for theirs.

Sigue mejorandose mi mujer, quien á V^{d} como siempre le manda recuerdos mas cariñosos. En cuanto á mi, me pongo á sus pies de V^{d} y quedo.

Su af^{mo} y agradecido amigo,

J. R. LOWELL.

Recalling our pleasant intercourse with Mr. Lowell during our frequent passages through London to and from the Continent, an incident may be here noticed. He was always inviting us to dinner or to luncheon to meet his English friends, and one day he asked Mrs. Foster if there was any one in London she would like especially to meet and he would see if he could arrange it. She replied that she was a great admirer of Tennyson and would rather meet him than any other person in England. He answered: "You are a great admirer of Tennyson? Will you take my advice? I doubtless could arrange a meeting for you, but I would advise against it, as your ideal of him might be dispelled if you meet him. Of late he has grown careless in his dress and cross. He has been much annoyed by Americans and other strangers coming to see him, and he is not always polite, is gruff and surly. We might strike him in fine humor, but more likely not, and you would always regret the interview. So remember him as you have him in your imagination."

CHAPTER XXII

THE ROYAL FAMILY — DIPLOMATIC MATTERS

It had been my determination when I brought the Cuban reciprocity treaty to Washington in December, 1884, not to return to Spain as Minister. In execution of this determination I tendered my resignation to President Cleveland immediately after his inauguration. But aside from this determination on my part, it was to be expected that the new President would desire the resignation of all diplomatic officers, to enable him to fill those much-sought-for places with his partisan friends.

In this view of the political situation, and while I was arranging to return to the practice of my profession in Washington, a few days after I had filed my resignation in the Department of State, I was invited by the new Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, to dine with him. When I went to his house I found I was the only guest and not even his family were at the table. It soon developed that he had taken this hospitable method of having a confidential interview with me. I had theretofore a slight acquaintance with him as a Senator, but he treated me with the utmost cordiality and confidence, and seemed well informed as to my diplomatic services. He told me that he had been requested by the President to express to me his earnest desire that I should continue in the service and return to my post at Madrid. He said the commercial treaty for Cuba and Porto Rico which I had negotiated did not commend itself to the President in the schedules of articles for reciprocal exchange, as he favored a different tariff policy; but he found that the treaty had many desirable features for the improvement of

our commercial relations with those islands; that he was desirous of having them carried out; and if I should consent to return to Madrid he would intrust me with the mission of securing a modification of the treaty to conform to his views.

I expressed my high appreciation of the confidence reposed in me by the President and the honor he proposed to bestow upon me, but stated that two obstacles stood in the way. First, I did not desire to continue longer in the service, and, second, I hardly thought the Spanish Government would care for a commercial treaty with the reciprocity provisions stricken out. The result, however, of a long conversation was that I consented to return to Madrid, with the understanding that after I had sounded the Government and my surmise as to its attitude should be found to be correct, I could again tender my resignation at my convenience and it would then be accepted.

As there was no occasion for haste in reaching Madrid, I entered Spain from Southern France, spent some time in Barcelona and other points of interest in the province of Catalonia, and also visited Valencia. During my previous residence I had made excursions to all other parts of the Peninsula except the distant Asturias, and with this latter tour I had become acquainted by personal contact with this beautiful, interesting, and romantic country.

I was quite civilly received on my return to Madrid by the Ministry, but there was a manifest feeling of disappointment at the failure of the treaty. It was understood, however, that the change of parties in the United States and the adoption of a different tariff policy had been the main cause of this failure. The Minister of State and Señor Cánovas promised to take up with me at an early day the negotiations for a new commercial treaty, but I saw that, as usual, I should have to exercise patience.

During this period of waiting I had a further opportunity

of seeing Madrid society and the Court. Acquaintance with the royal family of Spain was an interesting experience for the resident diplomat. None of the monarchs of Europe were weighed down with such a wretched family history as Alfonso XII on his accession to the throne. The miserable reign of Ferdinand had been followed by the regency of his wife Christina, one of the most dissolute of royal women. Isabella II became successor to the throne at the age of three years, and passed through a training that well fitted her to eclipse her mother in immoral living. We recall the estimate which Washington Irving gave of Isabella the Catholic as "the most beautiful of historical characters, the purest sovereign who ever sat upon a throne, and . . . also one of the most enlightened," and we sympathize with the proud race which saw its once mighty sceptre in such degenerate hands.

Certainly if heredity can blight a life, Don Alfonso was greatly handicapped in moral qualities when he ascended the throne of Spain. He was proclaimed King at the age of seventeen, having spent much of his youth in exile. I vividly recall an after-dinner speech which I heard him deliver at one of the banquets in honor of the Crown Prince of Germany. In toasting his "cousin" the Prince, he contrasted their lives, and expressed regret that he had been called to rule over his people at the early age of seventeen with no experience or training, while the Crown Prince would enter on his duties as Emperor in the ripeness of age with many long years of preparation, for which he should be grateful. Few of his subjects know how deeply he had felt his responsibility and how difficult the pathway he had to tread had been. It was so modestly and sincerely spoken that it made a deep impression on all who heard it. Emperor William of Germany, at the death of the King, spoke of the "true friendship" which existed between them, and added, "I recognized a young man ripe beyond his years, clearly com-

prehending his difficult task and possessing an energy that promised a successful reign."

Under the circumstances it was little less than remarkable that his reign should have proved so successful. I have already commended his conduct on special occasions of political importance. He had the wisdom to act at all times within his limited sphere as a constitutional sovereign, and carefully abstained from dictation or any attempt at control of political affairs. He was intelligent and kept himself fairly informed of public events. On a number of occasions he showed that he was possessed of personal bravery and self-control. He had pleasing manners, an amiable disposition, and made himself popular with his people. He was the subject of considerable scandal, not without some foundation. I find that, in commenting upon those stories at the time, I remarked in one of my letters that "a son of Isabella could hardly be a model husband." He had an untimely end, dying a few weeks after I bade him farewell on leaving Spain.

Happily the death of the King did not bring disorder upon the country, which judging from its past history might have been anticipated. Queen Christina was named regent, and under Sagasta as Prime Minister the country readily recognized her authority. She proved herself well fitted for her trying duties. She belongs to the imperial family of Austria, her father being an uncle of the Emperor Francis Joseph. She received the best education the Empire could give, and having studious habits she kept up her acquaintance with literature and science, and spoke with accuracy German, French, English, and Spanish. Soon after assuming the regency, by prudence and tact in her relations with her Ministers and by her intense devotion to her children, she overcame the national prejudice against her as "a foreigner," and when a few months after the death of the King a posthumous male heir to the throne was born she became enshrined in the affections of the entire nation.

As under the constitution she could properly leave the government of the country to the Ministry, her chief duty was to her children, the two young princesses and the infant king. Prince Hohenlohe relates that after the burial of Alfonso XII, he had an interview with her, whom he had known in Austria, in which he spoke to her of the great satisfaction which her course had given the Spanish people, and she answered, "I shall know how to fulfill my duty towards my children." This she felt was the chief task she had to discharge. Mrs. Foster had several private interviews with her, and the children were almost the only topic of their conversation. In one of these conversations she told Mrs. Foster of the great interest she had taken in reading "Helen's Babies" to the two little princesses, and asked about other American juvenile literature. This afforded Mrs. Foster the occasion to procure from New York a selection, and among them an elegantly bound author's presentation copy of "Helen's Babies," which highly gratified the royal mother.

Alfonso XII had three sisters, known in court language as *The Infantas*. The eldest, Doña Isabel, made an unfortunate marriage with a member of the Neapolitan royal family, who committed suicide, and she returned to Madrid. She is not handsome, but quite intelligent, bright in conversation, very popular in society, and a good horsewoman. It was her great delight to drive a team of six well-groomed and sprightly mules at a dashing speed over the roads at La Granja. It was greatly to her honor as a Spanish Bourbon that no breath of scandal ever attached to her.

The second Infanta, Maria de la Paz, was married to a Bavarian Prince the year of our arrival in Madrid. The royal pair were accustomed to return annually, and the young Prince honored the Diplomatic Corps with a reception, where we exchanged with him some flippant conversation.

Doña Eulalia, the youngest of the King's sisters, was quite attractive and pleasant. She established friendly relations

with my daughters, who were often invited to the Palace for a cup of tea in her private apartments. It will be remembered that she represented the Queen-Regent at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, and she had a similar representation at Queen Victoria's Jubilee in London. On both occasions she acquitted herself with credit and proved a general favorite. Her marriage to her cousin, the son of the Duke of Montpensier, was not a happy one, and has not prevented her from being the subject of society gossip.

One of the court ladies, attached to the Infanta Eulalia, was a woman of much strength of character and intelligence, the widow of the Marques Calderon de la Barca, who was for some years the Spanish Minister in Washington. She was Scotch by birth, but had passed much of her life in Washington. Her sister was the author of "Life in Mexico," one of the most interesting books ever written on that country, published in 1843 with a very commendatory preface by Prescott. Because of her former residence in Washington the Marquesa was on very friendly terms with our household, and through her we came to know much of the inner life of the Palace.

On leaving Madrid for one of my visits to Washington, I offered my services for carrying some little packages to her relatives in the latter city, and also asked her for return orders from her kinsfolk. When I was about to return the Marchioness's nephew, a prominent lawyer in Washington, brought to my hotel a package ordered by her, saying he was afraid I did not know the *weight* of the obligation I had assumed; which proved to be a soapstone griddle! In writing to my wife about it, the Marchioness said: "Mr. Foster can refuse nothing to me, a real American at heart. You will laugh when I tell you that he brings back for me, at the bottom of his trunk, a griddle, which is an impossible thing to find here. It is quite an event, a griddle brought across the Atlantic by an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipo-

tentiary! But it is to make American cakes on for the royal family I want it."

For some years after Alfonso XII was crowned, his mother, the ex-Queen Isabella, was not permitted by Señor Cánovas to come to Madrid, fearing her evil influence over her son, and during his entire reign she lived either at her palace in the south of Spain or in Paris. During the later years of his reign the rule was relaxed and she made occasional visits to the Capital. On such occasions a book was kept at the Palace, where the Diplomatic Corps could call and inscribe their names, according to the custom in monarchical countries. I did not have sufficient respect for Her Majesty to pay her that honor, but I was made to suffer the penalty for my lack of courtesy. Whether or not she had noticed my omission I cannot say, but at one of the state balls in the Palace she inquired of the Introducer of Ambassadors if there was not a new American Minister and expressed a desire to meet me. Whereupon this functionary conducted myself, wife, and daughters into the presence of the famous Isabella and presented us, and to my relief she made herself quite agreeable.

Carl Schurz, who was the American Minister in 1861 when she was at the height of her prosperity and sensual life, refers to her as "the gay Isabella, the dissoluteness of whose life was so universally admitted that it may be said to have been accepted history." Of her imbecile husband, Don Francisco de Asis, he writes: "His only political function consisted in presenting himself to the world as the official father of Isabella's children." Her evil influence upon the Government and her people cannot be disguised, but when we remember her father's sensuality and dissipation and the neglect of her wicked mother in her infancy, we are moved to throw a mantle of charity over her life and to remember rather her cordial manner, her great amiability, and the generosity for which she was distinguished.

The royal family is quite a tax upon the Government treasury, but not more heavy than that of most monarchies. The appropriations for this purpose in 1885, the year of the King's death, were as follows: The King, $1,400,000; the Queen, $90,000; the Princess of Asturias (then the heir apparent), $100,000; the Infanta Isabel, $50,000; the two younger Infantas, Paz and Eulalia, $30,000 each; Duchess of Montpensier, $50,000; ex-Queen Isabella, $150,000; and the ex-King consort, $60,000; making the total sum for the royal family $1,960,000. In addition to these revenues the King, the Queen, and the ex-Queen were possessors of large private estates.

"Following the Court," especially in the summer vacation, has been an established custom in Spain for centuries, when the Diplomatic Corps accompanies the King on changing his residence from the Capital to one of his country palaces. John Jay, the first American Minister sent to Spain, back in the eighteenth century wrote to the Continental Congress of the great additional expense the custom brought upon him, and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of that body availed of it to obtain a larger appropriation for the mission. The practice had somewhat fallen into desuetude with the Diplomatic Corps in my day, as its members generally preferred to take their vacations in European watering-places or elsewhere; but its observance was much appreciated by the Court, and during the three summers I passed in Spain I "followed" the King each year to La Granja, and, as I reported to the Department of State, "remained there for so long a time as appeared necessary to manifest a due respect for his Majesty."

San Ildefonso, or La Granja (the grange), as it is commonly called, a royal palace about forty miles from Madrid, has been for nearly two centuries a favorite summer resort of the royal family. It is situated in the fastnesses of the Guadaramas, that picturesque range of mountains which

adorns the landscape to the north of Madrid, four thousand feet above the sea and in the midst of pine forests. It is the creation of Philip V, the first Bourbon King of Spain. Its chief glory is its garden, patterned after that at Versailles, and the special feature is the great array of fountains of artistic design and workmanship. They have a great advantage over those of Versailles in the abundant supply of clear water fresh from the mountain streams.

The life of the Court at La Granja is much more simple and informal than at Madrid. Uniform is dispensed with, the entertainments at the Palace have less of an official air about them, and the royal family mingle more freely with the Diplomatic Corps and summer residents. Some of the fountains play every day in the season, and are a never-failing source of attraction. Daily about noon there was held in the royal garden what is called a "corro," a social gathering of the ladies and gentlemen of the village to have a morning talk and listen to the music. Usually the King, Queen, or the Infantas joined it. The afternoons were devoted to driving and riding or foot excursions into the mountains. At night, if there was no entertainment at the Palace or at some of the villas, the little theatre offered a simple amusement. One of the villas was that of Herr Bauer, the Spanish representative of the Rothschilds, a famous entertainer.

The King maintained a game preserve or royal forest in the mountains a few miles away, with a good supply of deer and wild boars. The gentlemen fond of the sport were frequently invited to accompany the King on shooting-parties, and the Queen, members of the Court, and Diplomatic Corps sometimes joined them for a picnic.

Excursions were easily made to Segovia, six miles from La Granja, a former capital of Spain. It has lost much of its ancient glory and prosperity, but it is still one of the most interesting cities of the Peninsula. Its three attractive feat-

ALFONSO XIII, QUEEN REGENT
AND INFANTAS OF SPAIN

ures are monuments of three stages of its earlier history. The aqueduct of Trajan is one of the best preserved of the works of the Roman builders. The cathedral is one of the choicest specimens of Gothic architecture. And the Alcazar, though much in decay, is still a striking evidence of the taste and power of the Moorish domination.

After the death of Alfonso XII, La Granja ceased, during the sixteen years of the regency of Queen Christina, to be the summer residence of the Court, Her Majesty having taken a dislike to it and spending much of her time at the charming seaside resort of San Sebastian, adjoining Biarritz. The gossips attributed this dislike to the King's freer indulgences in his mountain retreat. It was from here the Queen took her journey to Vienna, whence, it was reported, she had resolved never to return to Spain. But if she ever formed such a resolution, reasons of state led to her return. The "Castle in the Air," as La Granja is sometimes termed, has of late been restored to favor, as the young King Alfonso XIII spent here his honeymoon, and he is likely to make it again the royal summer residence.

It has been intimated already that I encountered much difficulty in bringing the Spanish Government to any satisfactory settlement of the complaints of American shipowners for losses and injuries sustained through the harsh measures of the colonial authorities. In one of these cases, however, I was completely successful, but my success does not inure so much to the credit of the Spanish Government as to the effectiveness of arbitration. The *Masonic*, an American vessel, was seized and confiscated by the customs authorities of the Philippine Islands for an alleged shortage in its cargo. The owner obtained a decision of the highest court of Spain that the confiscation was illegal, the President had twice referred to it in messages to Congress, and for five years the Legation at Madrid had been laboring ineffectively to secure indemnification. The owner of the vessel offered to accept

$49,000, but the Spanish Government was unwilling to pay more than $9000.

Finally by mutual agreement the case was submitted to arbitration, the Minister of State in the note consenting to such a settlement, complimenting me personally by saying that the Government of His Majesty desired thus "to give a proof of the appreciation which it has of the friendly conduct of your official relations in this Court." Baron Blanc, the Italian Minister at Madrid, was selected as a sole arbiter, and just before my final departure from Spain he rendered his decision, awarding the claimant $51,674, and the award was promptly paid by the Spanish Government. Baron Blanc had served previously as Italian Minister in Washington with much credit and had married an American lady of wealth.

There was no American colony in Madrid, — only two or three dentists, — and at that time only a few American tourists. I was not often troubled with social questions, which sometimes bring perplexity to the diplomatic representative in European capitals where Americans congregate in considerable numbers. I was able to meet the expectations of my countrymen with one exception. The state ball given in honor of the Crown Prince of Germany was a special event in European society. On the day before it took place a young man from Boston appeared at my Legation and asked for invitations to the ball for himself and his two sisters. I explained to him the strict rules of the Court, and that, besides, it was then too late to make an application. At first he was surprised, and finally became indignant, that he should be refused, notwithstanding the fact that he brought no letter of introduction, and did not even present a passport. He had made the journey, he said, all the way from London for the express purpose of attending the ball, some Italians on the train with him were to be invited by their Minister, and he did not see why the American Minister could

not procure invitations for him. He left Madrid, in high dudgeon, vowing vengeance on me at Washington, but nothing further was heard of him.

One of the duties of American Ministers for years has been to guard their countrymen from frauds sought to be perpetrated by a band of shrewd swindlers in Spain who have accomplices in the United States. Warnings have from time to time been issued by the Department of State, but that does not suffice to prevent unwary Americans from occasionally being victimized. It became my duty more than once to prevent guileless Americans from making the long journey to Spain or remitting money to the conspirators, in the hope of a fortune. A case that occurred during my Ministry will illustrate the character of the frauds, which assumed various forms.

A well-to-do farmer in Pennsylvania, to whom I shall give the name of Smith, received a letter dated at "Castle Fort de Valencia," with a Spanish postmark. The writer, Manuel Garcia, it stated, was imprisoned on an eighteen-year political sentence for helping the oppressed Cuban revolutionists. Escaping from the island with his fortune, amounting to thirty-nine thousand pounds sterling, he deposited it in the Bank of England, taking a certificate of deposit. He had married in Cuba an American woman, who claimed to be a relative of Mr. Smith, and who had died leaving an only daughter, Emily, who was at school in Spain. Greatly desiring to see this daughter, Garcia made a secret visit to Spain, was discovered, arrested, and condemned to imprisonment. His portmanteau, a secret pocket of which contained the certificate of deposit for the thirty-nine thousand pounds sterling, was held for costs by the court. Would Mr. Smith, for the sake of his relationship to the wife, pay the court costs, release the portmanteau, and take charge of the little daughter?

This letter was followed in a short time by a letter from

the "chaplain of the prison," conveying the news of the sad and sudden death of Garcia, after leaving a will giving to Mr. Smith one fourth of the estate and the guardianship of the daughter with the balance. The chaplain sent a copy of the will, duly stamped and certified, as also an imposing-looking certificate from the court, setting forth the foregoing facts, and that one hundred and eighty-five pounds sterling were necessary in order to redeem the portmanteau; and if that sum were not received within forty-nine days the baggage would be sold. The chaplain in addition sent a patriotic, misspelled note from little Emily, on a letter-head of the "Colegio Anglo-Español," and a photograph of herself.

Smith submitted the documents to a local attorney, who pronounced them in proper form. The chaplain had suggested that he remit the necessary amount at once, but upon the advice of the lawyer Smith prepared to go in person to Spain and attend to the business himself. But an afterthought suggested the precaution of first going to Washington and consulting his Congressman. The latter took him to the Department of State and to the Spanish Legation, at both of which places the fraud was exposed and Smith was saved the expense of the long journey across the Atlantic.

During my last summer in Spain, in 1885, the country was afflicted with a terrible visitation of the cholera. It began in the Mediterranean ports to the south, and gradually advanced north until late in the summer, when it had covered almost the entire Peninsula. The Diplomatic Corps, as usual in the summer, took their vacation abroad, and I was left almost alone in the Capital without colleagues; but as I was anxious to conclude as soon as possible the special work assigned me by Secretary Bayard, I felt it my duty to remain near the Ministry. I thus had an opportunity to study closely the destructive scourge. The account of its ravages in the south of Spain created much apprehension at first, but as it gradually approached the Capital the fears of the more intel-

ligent part of the population in great measure subsided, and for some weeks we endured the presence of the pestilence with composure.

The press of Madrid contained daily accounts of its progress throughout the kingdom, and the Government published a daily summary of the reports of fatalities received, thus making it the general topic of news and of conversation. The detailed accounts from many localities were heart-rending. Granada was one of the places where the plague was most severely felt, as many as two hundred and sixty deaths being reported daily; the panic was so great the municipal government became paralyzed, medical aid was greatly insufficient, the poor were reported as dying like rats, and it was almost impossible to have the dead buried. The bodies were thrown into common carts, drunken drivers were impressed from the state prison, and the dead were buried in great pits. There were, however, acts of heroic devotion by the priests and sisters of charity, and the archbishop turned his palace into a hospital.

It was stated that in many places when the pestilence broke out whole villages were deserted, leaving the dead unburied. In others the panic was so great the merchants and shopkeepers closed their stores, the well-to-do people fled, and it became almost impossible to obtain food and supplies, so that starvation was added to disease. In one town six hundred cases were reported and only one physician. Instances were given where persons fleeing from an infected district to one exempt were actually starved to death. In some provinces the authorities of each village had a cordon thrown about it, so that travel was almost entirely obstructed. Added to this was the strict quarantine and fumigation, the latter being so severe and unscientific that many deaths were caused by it. I had occasion during the epidemic to go from Madrid to La Granja to see the Minister of State and was subjected to the fumigation, which in my case was

made comparatively light, but I found it sufficiently disagreeable. My opinion was that the only benefit of such fumigation was to calm somewhat the fears of the people of the exempt district.

The unhappy condition of the country was greatly aggravated by the ignorance and superstition of the lower classes. With them a great prejudice existed against the physicians; they refused to receive their visits or take their medicines, believing that the doctors were sent to kill them and that the medicines were poison, and so they died like beasts. In La Granja, the seat of the royal family, the belief was entertained that the physicians had two medicines, a black powder to kill and a white powder to cure, and that they selected their subjects. In some districts of Barcelona the physicians could not make their visits unless guarded by two policemen. Nor was Madrid any exception; persons attacked with the cholera being taken to the hospitals were rescued by mobs of working-women because they believed they were going there to be killed; and owing to the panic and want of system the press reported that scores of bodies remained in the cemetery grounds of Madrid exposed for six or eight days before being buried. The only remedy of the common people seemed to be to get the Holy Virgins out of the churches and parade them in immense processions about the streets.

As the pestilence affected all the concerns of the people, so also it was an element of discord and danger to the Government. The provincial authorities, influenced by the local press, established such unreasonable quarantines and restrictions that the Central Government had to interfere in order to prevent a complete paralyzation of business and travel. This led to open disobedience and revolt in such important centres as Sevilla and Malaga; governors had to be removed and new ones substituted, and the military brought into requisition to enforce the orders of the Government.

A ministerial crisis was brought on by the first announcement of the presence of the cholera in Madrid, which it was urged should not have been made because of its effect on business. In the midst of the distress and excitement the King showed much calmness, courage, and sympathy, going in person with members of his Court and Cabinet to the most afflicted provinces to give confidence to the people, and remaining in Madrid during its prevalence there.

I quote the following from one of the Madrid papers, as showing the sentiment of the more intelligent portion of the public on the deplorable situation: "Religion, humanity, love of one's neighbor, and the light of civilization demand that men and communities should not treat each other as wild beasts, but as brothers; as co-partners in affliction and mutual helpers in their misfortunes. The cordons and lazarettos, as enforced in Andalusia and other regions, are the height of inhumanity and degeneracy. They may recall the dark days of the Middle Ages, but they are a disgrace to the broad light of the nineteenth century; we resemble the state of barbarism which may separate us from European civilization." But in their misfortunes the Spanish people were not unlike other civilized races. If we read the account given by McMaster, in his "History of the People of the United States," of the epidemic of yellow fever when it visited Philadelphia in 1793, we shall find a state of affairs much resembling that which existed in Spain in 1885.

The number of deaths from cholera in the Peninsula during the prevalence of the plague, reported to the Government, amounted to 100,000, but the aggregate must have been considerably larger, as many fatalities were concealed by the lower classes. When the cholera devastated Europe in 1831 and 1832, the number of deaths in the British Islands amounted to only 52,500 in a much larger population. A member of the British Royal Commission sent to Spain to study the disease said to me that it was the greatest epidemic

which had visited Europe since the Middle Ages. It awakened general sympathy throughout the world. I was instructed by the Secretary of State "to convey to His Majesty, in the name of the President, the deep sympathy which the people and the Government of the United States bear towards the sorrowing people of Spain by reason of the great calamity that rests upon them, and express our prayerful hope that the dark cloud of pestilence may soon be lifted from the nation." This message of the President I delivered to the King in person when I took leave of him at the termination of my mission.

The preoccupation of the Government with the cholera and other matters made it difficult for me to secure its attention to the modification of the Cuban commercial treaty, but when I finally brought the Ministers of State and the Colonies to a consideration of the subject, it soon became apparent that the changes desired by Secretary Bayard could not be secured. The failure to bring about the ratification of that treaty by the Senate made them hesitate to enter upon another treaty on that subject, lest it should meet the same fate, and the reciprocal exchange of products which Secretary Bayard wished to have omitted was the feature which was most valued by Spain; hence, there was no common ground upon which to base a negotiation.

As there was, therefore, no reason on that account why I should continue my stay, I tendered my resignation a second time to President Cleveland, which was accepted. After concluding the business attending the arbitration of the *Masonic* claim and other pending questions, I was received by the King in a farewell audience, in which he spoke in kindly terms of my relations with his Government and expressed regret at my departure; and on September 1, 1885, I turned over the Legation to the Secretary, Edward H. Strobel, and left Madrid.

Mr. Strobel had been appointed by President Cleveland,

and had only recently arrived, but he acquitted himself with credit, which gave earnest of his future success. He was born in South Carolina and graduated from the academic and law departments of Harvard University, sustaining himself by tutoring and by prizes and scholarships gained during his course. He served afterwards as an Assistant Secretary of State and Minister to Chili, and for some years filled the chair of international law at Harvard. He was called thence to the post of Diplomatic Adviser to the King of Siam, and had before him a useful career, when he died suddenly while holding that post.

After leaving Madrid there happened a curious sequel to my experience with the cholera. A news cablegram was published in the American papers on September 9 that I had been attacked with the cholera and would not recover. My family and friends were naturally much concerned and cablegrams were dispatched to Madrid, but answers were returned that I was not in that city. I had planned a hurried visit to Athens and Constantinople before returning home; at the time of the report I was out of telegraphic communication, and some days elapsed before the rumor could be shown to be untrue. William E. Forster, a well-known statesman of England, at the time lay on his dying bed, and the news cablegram received in New York stated that there was no hope of his recovery. The brief item underwent the process of "padding" in the New York office by a clerk who was more acquainted with my existence than with that of my English namesake.

My retirement from the Legation at Madrid closed my diplomatic services as a Resident Minister abroad. For a second time I entered upon the labors of my profession, little thinking there was still before me a much more varied diplomatic career.

CHAPTER XXIII

A SPANISH CEREMONIAL

Six years after I closed my mission to Spain, I was delegated by our Government to make a visit to Madrid on official business, the character of which will be stated in the next chapter. It was my desire and hope that the business which brought me to Spain should be dispatched with much promptness, so that my absence from Washington should be as brief as possible.

But I had taken little note of the calendar, and reached Madrid on the eve of Holy Week. It reflected poorly upon my habit of observation that after ten years' residence in the lands of the "Mother Church," I should have planned a hurried visit so as to reach the country so noted for its holidays on the eve of the most sacred and most prolonged of the Church festivals. I soon discovered that, however urgent in my own estimation my business, it must patiently wait till the solemn and sacred festival week was entirely passed.

Having, therefore, seven days of absolute leisure on my hands I had a better opportunity than had ever before been afforded me to see the various ceremonies of Easter Week, which are observed in this devout Roman Catholic country probably with more zeal and solemnity than in any other part of the world. We have seen that by the express provision of the existing constitution the Roman Catholic is made the state religion and the observance of all other religions is prohibited in public, so that in the whole land there was not found a single dissenting church edifice. The Catholic Church is not only made the state religion by law, but it is enshrined in the hearts of the great mass of the population, and they

enter with pious zeal into the observance of this great festival of the Church.

As may be inferred from what I have already said, all official public business, except of the most urgent character, is suspended during the entire week. From Wednesday to Saturday the national flags on all public buildings are displayed at half-mast, in remembrance of the sufferings and death of our Lord. On Thursday and Friday public locomotion in the city is paralyzed by the suspension of traffic on the street-car lines and by public cabs of all kinds, and not a single private carriage or horseman is allowed on the streets without a special permit, and this only on account of sickness or some other equally urgent cause. On these two days all business houses are closed, the population generally, and especially the women, array themselves in black, and a Puritanic Sabbath stillness (the Spanish Sabbath is not quiet) pervades the streets. The newspapers appear as usual, but their character is greatly changed, as a large part of their columns is given up to the publication of sermons and religious literature, and to notices of religious ceremonials and meetings of almost infinite variety in the churches and elsewhere. One of the favorite articles, generally regarded by the Protestant world as apocryphal, which is reproduced each year, is the famous letter of Publius Lentulus, Governor of Judea, addressed to the Roman Senate, giving a detailed account of Jesus Christ, with a minute description of his person, physical characteristics, and bearing. The theatres are open the greater part of the week, but here too a marked transformation takes place, as they are almost wholly devoted to religious and morality plays, many of them of a spectacular character, and produced in much the same spirit as at Ober-Ammergau. I give a translation of one of the theatrical advertisements which appeared in the Madrid papers on Easter Saturday: "*Theatre of Prince Alfonso.* To-morrow will be given in this theatre, afternoon and evening, the seventh and eighth re-

presentations [it having been on the boards during the week] of the magnificent drama entitled *The Death and Passion of Jesus*, put on the stage with all the requisites called for by its interesting plot, concluding with the beautiful scene called *The Resurrection of the Lord*, in which our Lord will be seen to rise from the sepulchre and ascend amid the clouds to enjoy celestial glory, the whole being produced in a manner entirely befitting the subject."

The members of the many royal and church orders hold their annual meetings during this week, and the daily press give special attention to their proceedings. For instance, I read an account of the annual convocation in one of the churches of the royal military pontifical Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. The church was decorated with the shields, banners, and white pennants, on which were displayed the traditional five red crosses of the Order, which numerous and most valiant trophies, it is said, recalled the memory of their glorious triumphs over the infidel horde, contending in that most holy land. A detailed account is given of the noted grandees who participated in the exercises, with their decorations and arms, among which was borne the rich sword of the Chapter, an exact copy of the one which was used by the most daring and pious Godfrey of Bouillon, the first King of Jerusalem, whose venerated sword is now guarded in the most holy sepulchre. The exercises concluded with the royal march of the knights and the battle-cry, "O, Lord, rescue the Holy Sepulchre," sounded by the crusaders in the assault and capture of the holy city.

An interesting incident annually attending the religious ceremony in the Chapel of the Royal Palace on the morning of Good Friday is the long-established practice of the sovereign granting a pardon to a number of criminals condemned to death, who are recommended to clemency by the Council of Ministers. In the act of the adoration of the cross, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo stepped down from the high

altar, approached a table on which were laid nine rolls of parchment tied with black ribbons (the pardons), and laying his hand on these rolls, as his predecessors had done for three centuries, he said to the Queen Regent: "Señora, does Your Majesty grant pardon to these criminals?" The Queen, holding the hand of the little boy King by her side, replied: "I pardon them, and so may God pardon me."

The procession of the Holy Burial, in imitation of that of our Lord, which took place on the afternoon of Good Friday, was the most noticeable of all the outdoor ceremonials of Holy Week. It assumed an official character, as it was headed by the civil governor of the Capital, accompanied by his staff, was reviewed by the Queen, Ministers of State, and court attendants from the Palace balconies, and embraced all the high clergy and various religious orders, with numerous bands of music playing solemn airs, and several moving platform scenes of the crucifixion, burial, and tomb. This and all the other ceremonies were participated in with the most devout and reverential spirit.

But to me the most interesting of all the ceremonies was the "feet-washing." It is sought to make it as far as practicable a reproduction and commemoration of the touching scene, as recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel of John, at the Last Supper, when Christ, rising from the table, took a towel and girded himself and washed the disciples' feet, and said, "If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet." The ceremony took place in the Royal Palace on Thursday, and the Queen Regent, in the presence of the grandees, hierarchy, and the most splendid pageantry of the Court, personally and actually washed the feet of twelve of the poorest and most afflicted women to be found in the districts within reach of Madrid. It was intended to be an imposing lesson, given in the Palace by the Ruler of the Kingdom to all her subjects, that the religion of State enjoins upon the high, the rich, and

the prosperous, to search out the lowly and unfortunate about them and extend to them sympathy and relief.

The ceremony was first introduced from Austria and established in Spain by the Emperor Charles V in the year 1547, and has been continuously observed since that date. In this, as in many other ways, Spain still shows the influence of this greatest of all Spanish rulers and the greatest, at his day, of all monarchs since Charlemagne, and with a far more widespread dominion — Emperor of Germany, King of Spain, of the Netherlands, of the greater part of Italy, and of the far-off dependencies of Mexico, Peru, and the other vast regions beyond the seas — the most magnificent empire on earth. This scene of the "feet-washing" more than any other revives the memories of the golden era in Spanish history. It also, more than any other, recalls the influences which have made the people of the Peninsula through the centuries the most devoted adherents of Holy Church. Its founder, Charles, was the great warrior of the Church. During the forty years of his reign he carried on a ceaseless war for the True Faith, on the one hand, against the Saracens, who, under Solyman the Magnificent, swept the Mediterranean with their fleets and pressed up to the very gates of Vienna with their conquering armies; and on the other hand, against that able and intrepid heretic, Martin Luther, who dared to face His Majesty at the Diet of Worms and by his eloquent tongue and pen arrayed against him the half of Europe.

This Defender of the Faith, at the brilliant ceremonial at Brussels, when he threw about the neck of his son and successor the sparkling jewel of the grand-mastership of the Golden Fleece and transferred to him his vast empire, enjoined upon him: "Above all, cherish the interests of religion"; and in the last codicil to his will, with his old-time warrior spirit, he conjured him to exterminate every heretic in his dominions — a provision of his will which Philip fulfilled perhaps with greater exactness than any other.

These and similar memories crowded themselves upon my thoughts as I ascended the grand stairway of the palace and entered the Salon of the Columns, the hall where the state balls are held, and where the "feet-washing" was to take place. The selection of the poor who were to participate in this pageant was made with care from the villages outside the Capital, and the greater portion of them were blind or deprived of other of the senses. They were brought to the Palace the day previous and first examined by the court physician to see that they had no contagious diseases. They were then given a bath under the supervision of the court apothecary, and each provided with a complete new suit of wearing apparel by the Chief Almoner of the Palace. When I entered the salon and was shown a seat on the platform provided for the Diplomatic Corps, the hall was already well filled with the high society of the Capital. Immediately in front of us was a long table with plates, etc., laid for thirteen, and on the opposite side of the hall was another table laid for twelve. Presently the poor who were to be the guests, entered, all old and feeble, thirteen men, each led by one of the noblemen of the kingdom in full court dress, and twelve women, led and assisted to their seats at the tables by twelve ladies of the Court in full evening costume with court trains. Soon after they were seated the royal procession entered, the two Chief Gentlemen of the Royal Household at the head, followed by the choir and clergy of the Chapel Royal and the hierarchy of the kingdom; then Her Majesty the Queen, her train borne by the Royal Majordomo, Count Albareal de Tajo, and on her left the Monsignor Nuncio of His Holiness Leo XIII, followed by the grandees and other nobility of Spain.

All the ladies and gentlemen who were spectators were dressed in black, as is the custom on Holy Thursday; but the Queen, grandees, ladies of the Court, the Ministers of State, including the Diplomatic Corps, and all who participated in

the exercises, were in full court dress, with all the gold lace, ribbons, and decorations of a gala day.

Seldom is a more brilliant company gathered in the palace. A temporary royal dais occupied the centre of one side of the large hall, and at the right of it was the Diplomatic Corps and on the left the Ministers of State and the nobility. Most prominent and noticeable of these was the Prime Minister, Don Antonio Cánovas del Castillo. Standing next to Cánovas in the ministerial group was a man worth a passing notice. His family name will sound familiar to English-speaking people — it is Charles O'Donnel. He is the Minister of Foreign Affairs and has the title of Duke of Tetuan. His lineal ancestor bore a prominent part among the forces of James II in the battle of the Boyne, just two centuries ago; and after the signal triumph of William III he fled from Ireland, and with other noble families established himself in Spain. The father of the present Charles O'Donnel was the famous Marshal O'Donnel of the turbulent times of Isabella II. He disputed for the Government in those days with the celebrated General Navaez, who was very vindictive in his triumphs and numbered the execution of his enemies by scores. It is related of Navaez that when he came to die, as the priest was about to administer the last sacraments, he appealed to the General, as his priestly duty required, to forgive his enemies before he passed into the other world. "Holy Father," interrupted the General, "I have none. I have shot them all!"

Another person in the ministerial group attracts attention, a scholarly looking man, with piercing black eyes. It is Señor Silvela, the Minister of the Interior, next to Cánovas the ablest man in the Cabinet, and who has since held the post of Prime Minister. His wife, one of the most beautiful and charming women in the court society, is the daughter of the Marquis of Loring, a name familiar to New England ears. Her great-grandfather was a Yankee sea-captain from Salem,

Massachusetts, who about the first years of the last century in his swift-sailing clippers carried to Boston and New York the first of the delicious fruits of the Malaga coast. He grew rich, married a Spanish señorita, settled in Malaga, and his son, with true Yankee enterprise, made for himself a fortune and a title, and now the Marquis of Loring stands among the grandees, honored in all the Peninsula.

The exercises of the "feet-washing" commenced with the Church service, *Ante diem festum Paschae*, after which the ceremony of the washing began, and while it progressed the choir and officiating clergy chanted the prayers of the Ritual. The Queen, ungloving her hands, and imitating the Saviour, took a long towel, girded it partly around her waist, and passed over to the table where were seated the twelve poor women. One of the royal ladies preceding her, removed the shoe and stocking of each woman, another noblewoman held a silver basin, Her Majesty kneeling, the Papal Nuncio poured the water from a silver ewer upon the foot, and the Queen drying it with the towel, raised the foot to her lips and, it is presumed, kissed it; but it was insisted by the lady witnesses who were near me that the Queen kissed her own thumb. Another lady of the nobility, following, replaced the stocking and shoe.

All the noble ladies engaged in this act of service and humiliation bear titles which indicate great and valiant services to the Church and State. For instance, the lady who held the silver basin is the Marchioness of Santa Cruz, a name distinguished for centuries in Spanish history. It suggests an event appropriate to be recalled on this great day of the Church — the renowned naval battle of Lepanto, when that unique figure of the sixteenth century, Don John of Austria, the son of the man who established this ceremony of the "feet-washing," led the combined fleets of Christendom in a life-and-death struggle against the infidel Mustapha, the Moslem commander, who had conducted the famous siege at

Malta. The historians of the period delight to describe how those great fleets of more than three hundred vessels on each side, with two hundred thousand sailors, bore down upon each other in long extended lines of battle. Don John sent out this appeal to his followers: "You have come to fight the battle of the Cross; to conquer or die. But whether you die or conquer, do your duty this day, and you will secure a glorious immortality." He and each commander on his respective prow, kneeling down and followed by his crew, prayed that the Almighty would be with his people on that day. And so they entered the battle, and it was reserved to the gallant and pious Marquis of Santa Cruz at the critical moment, when all seemed lost, to enter the fight and give a glorious victory to Don John, which decided the supremacy of the ocean and sent a thrill of joy and relief throughout Christendom. Well might the Marchioness of Santa Cruz of to-day do honor by this service to the Church and cause which her family had so gloriously served three centuries before. It is the usual custom for the King to wash the feet of the poor men at the same time and in the same manner as the Queen, but it was announced that, owing to the tender years of Alfonso XIII, this part of the exercises would be omitted. The little five-year-old King was a subject of intense pride to most loyal Spaniards. I have already noticed the practice to open the annual sessions of the Cortes with great pomp, the King and all the members of the royal family attending in brilliant state. A Spanish lady, in giving me an account of these customary ceremonies at the opening of the Cortes, a few weeks before my arrival, told me, with a sparkle of Spanish pride in her eyes and a patriotic tone, how the little King ascended the dais with firm step, deliberately handed his cloak to an attendant and seated himself in the Throne Chair with as much grace and dignity as his father before him. The little fellow never failed to elicit the utmost respect and marks of affection from the people whenever he appeared in public;

and his mother, who was giving to the nation such an example of purity of life as has not been common in the Palace, and such proofs of prudence and ability as commanded the respect of the world, found in the helpless boy a substantial prop to the throne. It is that responsive chord of sympathy which innocent youth awakens among all peoples and in every class of society.

After the "feet-washing" was concluded, the Queen and her lady attendants passed over to the table where were seated the thirteen poor men. As their feet were not to be washed, they were now to receive the royal attention in another form. In front of each on the table was placed a plate, a napkin, a loaf of bread, a spoon, fork, and knife, a jug containing twelve pints of wine, a tumbler, a wine-glass, and a double salt-cellar. The Queen stood near the head of the table, and there stretched two long lines to the main entrance of the salon, the titled ladies on her right, and on her left the grandees and other noblemen who participated in the exercises.

As I remembered their respective titles the whole history of Spain was brought to mind. There stood the descendant of Gonzalvo de Cordova, El Gran Capitan (the Great Captain), — a much better type of the Spanish warrior than the famous Cid, who was little better than a brigand, — the right arm of Isabella the Catholic, and of Ferdinand, who laid the foundation of the Spanish soldiery which for a century dominated Europe and carried the Cross and Spanish rule to the remotest corners of America. Christopher Columbus, the lineal descendant of the great navigator, or, as he is better known in Spain, the Duke of Veragua, was absent from his accustomed place, painfully ill, but his brother and successor was in the hall. The Marquis of Mondejar stood near the Queen, as well he might, if the heroism and devotion of the men are remembered who for five centuries have borne that title and done valiant service for the Church and Crown on

every battlefield against the Moors and other enemies of the Faith. As I looked upon that long line of noblemen and titled ladies, as they stood on the right and left of the Queen of Spain, I could not restrain silent homage to the great men whose names and titles they bear.

I have stated that the poor men before whose table the Queen now stood were to receive the royal attention in another form. She had hardly taken her position when I saw, passing through the door where the line of noblemen ended, a large plate of salmon handed in, a cut of five or six pounds, the section of an immense fish whose equal is rarely seen in the markets. This plate was passed along up the line of noblemen from hand to hand, till it reached the Queen, and she placed it with her own hands in front of the poor man at the head of the table. But this one plate of salmon was followed in rapid succession by twelve other plates of salmon of equal bulk, until in front of each man was a plate of salmon sufficient of itself to feed the whole thirteen.

As soon as this course was laid, the Queen, beginning again at the head of the table, lifted the plate with her own hands, and passed it to the first lady at her right, who handed it along down the line till it disappeared through the door at the opposite end of the hall from which it entered. Before it disappeared, a large plate of pollock was sent in through the door at the foot of the line of noblemen and passed up to the Queen, and by her placed in front of the poor man at the head of the table; and then another and another, till thirteen plates of pollock were on the table. Again the Queen began the process of removing the plates, and down along the line of ladies they followed each other in rapid succession. And when the last had been removed, a new plate, this time of conger eel with rice, was ready to be handed to Her Majesty, to go through the same process; meanwhile the poor men were looking on in mute wonder and tasting nothing. The list of the remaining dishes placed on the table and re-

moved was as follows: (4) sardine pastry; (5) fried hake; (6) eel pie; (7) fried salted codfish; (8) roasted red sea-bream; (9) fried red mullet; (10) baked salmon trout; (11) pickled sea-bream; (12) pickled oysters (it is seen by this time that it is a lenten dinner, mainly of fish); (13) stuffed artichokes; (14) cream tartlets; (15) rice pudding. This completed the list of cooked dishes. Then followed (16) a whole Dutch cheese; (17) a plate of olives; (18) candied oranges and lemons; (19) a plate of limes; (20) ditto of oranges; (21) ditto of apples; (22) ditto of lemons; (23) figs; (24) dried peaches; (25) dried prunes; (26) walnuts; (27) raisins; (28) filberts; (29) candied aniseed; (30) almonds.

The washing of the feet of twelve women was no small task, but in the performance which I have just described the Queen had placed four hundred and twenty-nine large and well-loaded plates upon the table and then removed the four hundred and twenty-nine plates; the total weight of which was stated to be twenty-four hundred and fifty-seven pounds, or about a ton and a quarter; but she had done it all with a smiling face, a fair degree of dexterity and dispatch, and no signs of fatigue. But it was different, for instance, with the venerable grandee who stood next to her and handed her the four hundred and twenty-nine plates. He was evidently glad his task was over. He bears the famous title of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a title which recalls the most brilliant pages of the mediæval days of Spain. A duke of that era almost rivaled his sovereign in the magnificence of his establishment and his power. When the Catholic Kings entered upon the final campaign against Granada, the Duke brought into the field as his contingent, fully armed and at his own charges, five thousand horse and forty thousand foot. A century later another Duke of Medina Sidonia held a command more important but less glorious in its results. At the head of one hundred and fifty large war-vessels, carrying twenty-five hundred cannon and thirty

thousand seamen, he sailed out of Cadiz with the proud Armada, and bore down upon England, for whose destruction Philip II had combined all the resources of his kingdom, inspired by two causes of hate — first, Queen Bess had rejected his hand in marriage, and, second, England was then the bulwark of the Protestant cause. But the bold British mariners under Drake, and the stormy elements, between them, scattered and almost exterminated the invincible Armada, which ended the Spanish domination of the ocean, and fixed the beginning of that boasted supremacy of the British navy which has continued unchallenged to the present day. In these piping times of peace the present Duke has no greater calls upon his courage and loyalty than to pass along up to the Queen four hundred and twenty-nine plates of fish, et cetera, on Holy Thursdays.

But the Queen's work is not yet ended. The articles which I enumerated as being placed on the table when the poor men took their seats were also to be removed. First the Queen removed the thirteen jugs, each containing a gallon and a half of wine. It is related of the late Queen Isabella II that as she was thus serving the table, her head and neck resplendent with diamonds, one of them fell into the plate of a poor man, who, greatly embarrassed, took it up, not knowing to whom he ought to hand it. "Keep it," said the Queen, "it has fallen to you by lot."

After the jugs of wine and the loaf of bread had been removed, the Queen gathered up and placed carefully on the plate in front of each man the napkin, the spoon, knife and fork, the tumbler, the wine-glass, and the salt-cellar, and sent them down the line of ladies. This, as may be imagined, was a somewhat perilous voyage, and it is a matter of much trepidation on the part of the titled ladies and of curiosity on the part of the spectators as to who shall be the unfortunate one from whose hands any of the contents of the plate may fall, for it seldom, if ever, occurs that no such mishap comes to

one or more of the ladies before the thirteen plates are all safely landed outside the hall, and the event is always a source of merriment to the onlookers. On this occasion the first such accident came to the tall and handsome lady with the richly trimmed orange-satin dress, pearl collar and crown of emeralds and diamonds, who bears the well-known title of Duchess of Alva, a name famous in Spanish history almost from the foundation of the kingdom. The Duke of Alva, best known to us through our own historians Prescott and Motley, is he who three hundred and fifty years ago made the celebrated march from Italy, across the Alps and through France, into the Netherlands, to exterminate the Protestant revolt led by William of Orange. The Duke of Alva of my day was not seen among the grandees on this occasion, though he bore the title of six dukes, thirteen marquises, and fifteen counts. He had not inherited, either in mien or habits, many of the characteristics of his great ancestors. His chief associates were dogs, fast horses, and fast society, being quite noted among "the boys about town."

This duke, with his thirty-four titles of nobility, is not an unusual occurrence in the land which produced that incomparable work of satire of all time, the knight-errantry of Don Quixote. I give from an unimportant pamphlet a dedication of the same to the business manager of the royal household, under whose direction the feast I am describing was prepared, as follows: "To the Most Excellent Señor Don José Osorio y Silva, Marquis of Alcanices, Duke of Albuquerque, Grandee of Spain of the First Class, Gentleman of the King's Household with the functions and service of Chief Steward, Highest Chief of the Palace, Master of the King's Horse, Master of the Chase, Keeper of the Seal of His Majesty (whom may God preserve), Knight of the Notable Order of the Cloth of Gold, of the Grand Cross of Charles III, of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Italy, and of the Christ of Portugal."

When the tables were all cleared, the Papal Nuncio handed

to each poor man and woman, in succession, a purse of silver of the value of a half doubloon or ounce, about $7.50, with his blessing. It is the usual practice for the King to serve the poor women at their table, at the same time and in the same manner as the Queen served the men, but, as already intimated, this part of the service was omitted on account of the youth of Alfonso XIII. The contents of the thirty courses for the men, as well as a similar provision for the women, as they passed out of the hall, were packed carefully in twenty-five immense hampers, weighing 4514 pounds, or two and a quarter tons, and afterwards delivered to these poor guests for such use as they might choose to make of them. It is said they are usually sold to the restaurant keepers in the city, and that a very considerable sum is realized by each from the sale. The whole expense of this entertainment was paid out of the Queen's exchequer.

The exercises, which had continued for over two hours, were finally concluded by a solemn benediction pronounced by the Patriarch of the Indies. And thus was terminated this ancient, interesting, and unique ceremony, transmitted down the ages as a solemn religious service by the most devoted adherents of the Catholic Church.

Should I venture to moralize upon the ceremony, I would say that it teaches an important lesson. The supreme excellence and culmination of the Christian religion is charity, charity which reaches down from the King on his throne, the nobleman in his palace, the rich and prosperous in comfort and ease, to the poor, the afflicted, and helpless; gives them water for cleansing, clothing for their rags, food for their bodily comfort, and takes them by the hand and calls them "brother." The religion which makes this its ideal may hope to be pardoned the cruelties of the Inquisition in Spain and the vagaries of witch-hanging in Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XXIV

MY SECOND MISSION TO SPAIN

In 1891 I was appointed by President Harrison, at the request of Secretary Blaine, to conduct the negotiations with various interested countries based upon the legislation of Congress of 1890 known as the McKinley Tariff, providing for commercial reciprocity arrangements with them. A sketch of that measure and the negotiations growing out of it will be given in the next chapter; but as they occasioned a second visit by me to Spain, I deem it best to give in this order a narrative of this second mission.

The leading product embraced in the McKinley reciprocity provision was sugar, and as this was the chief product upon which was based the industry and commerce of Cuba, the Spanish Government was deeply interested in securing for that island the benefit of the proposed reciprocity arrangement. As preliminary to my mission to Spain and to enable me to have as comprehensive a knowledge as possible of the situation of affairs, I made a visit to Cuba, and spent some time in Havana, Matanzas, and other cities reached by the railroads, in conference with sugar-planters, exporters, and merchants. On my return to Washington, after receiving my instructions, I took my departure for Madrid.

It was my purpose to go directly through London and Paris without unnecessary delay, as my absence from Washington would halt negotiations on the subject with other countries. But on reaching London I was informed by our Minister, Mr. Lincoln, that King Leopold of Belgium was in the city and desired to see me. Accordingly Mr. Lincoln took me to call upon His Majesty, and it turned out that he was

very anxious about the fate of the Congo State Treaty, which was then pending in the Senate of the United States, respecting which Mr. Lincoln had told him that I might be able to give him some information. The treaty had been signed only six weeks previously, and had barely reached the Senate before I left Washington. I wondered at the time why he exhibited so much anxiety and impatience about its approval by the Senate, but that was afterwards explained by his great pecuniary interest in the commercial enterprises, which later made the rule of his representatives in that region so revolting and disgraceful.

During my residence in Europe I had heard much of King Leopold's escapades and family troubles, and I had little respect for him as a man, but my interview with him in London impressed me with his intelligence and his ability as a man of business. Fourteen years later when, as the attorney for the Chinese Government, I was effecting a settlement with a company of the affairs of the Canton-Hankow Railway, I had further insight into Leopold's business activity and shrewdness, which will appear in my account of that matter.

On my arrival in Madrid I was kindly received by our American Minister resident at that Capital, but I soon found that he felt aggrieved at my coming. It was a perfectly natural feeling, and one which I had anticipated and sought to avoid by having Secretary Blaine cable him, in advance of my departure, that it was his purpose to send me, and thus afford him an opportunity to dissent. If he had done so, I should have been unwilling to undertake the mission, but he did not. The President and Secretary Blaine felt that my previous residence in Spain, my knowledge of the language, and my experience in negotiating the previous reciprocity treaty made it desirable that I should be intrusted with this mission.

Immediately after my arrival I had a frank talk with our

Minister and we reached a satisfactory and friendly understanding, which was not interrupted during my stay. He rendered me every support that I could desire in the negotiations, promptly gave a dinner in my honor, to which were invited the Ministry and heads of legations, and both officially and socially left nothing undone to make my mission a success.

I have explained in the preceding chapter how the Easter services delayed and obstructed my business; but Holy Week having passed, I was not long in securing the attention of the Minister of State to the business of my mission. My first duty was to have an audience of the Queen Regent, to present my letter of credence from the President, which was promptly held. I was gratified to find that Her Majesty retained very pleasant memories of my former residence at her Capital, and she made kind inquiries about Mrs. Foster and my daughters. While I was having my audience with her, which was in her own part of the Palace, the little King came running in, and rushed up to his mother with juvenile disregard of official forms. She had him shake hands with me, told him who I was, and I had a short conversation with him; but he was soon off again in the same boyish manner in which he entered.

I found some changes had occurred in the personnel of the Diplomatic Corps since my former residence, but the most notable change was the transformation of the legations of Great Britain, Germany, Austria, and Italy into embassies, while formerly France was the only country which had maintained a mission of the first grade. It was pleasant to know that my old colleagues and the new ones were prepared to give me a hearty welcome, and during my brief stay a round of dinners were given in my honor in the embassies and by members of the Cabinet. By none was I more heartily welcomed back than by my good friend Emilio Castelar, who came out of his retirement to give me a notable entertain-

ment, gathering about his table the most congenial and brilliant spirits of Madrid society.

Another change of a personal and social character had occurred during my absence. Señor Cánovas, the Prime Minister, was a bachelor and had lived in very simple style in a modest house. I now found him married and living in one of the most elegant palaces in Madrid. The lady who had captivated him in his mature age was born and educated in Washington, the daughter of a Peruvian Minister to the United States who was afterwards transferred to Madrid. By the marriage of her father with a Spanish lady of high rank he became possessed of a title of nobility and great wealth, mainly in Cuban estates. He built a fine palace in the most fashionable quarter of the Capital, and on his daughter's marriage to Cánovas he presented them with this palace as a bridal gift. The marriage proved a happy one, notwithstanding the disparity of age, and they enjoyed their elegant home for six years after my visit, until he was stricken down by the anarchist assassin in the presence of his wife.

I have alluded to my friendly relations with Cánovas and my high estimate of his character. He greeted me warmly on my return, and gave a large dinner at his new home in my honor, at which there were present the members of the Cabinet and the foreign ambassadors. This distinction was both opportune and highly appreciated by me, because at the time I was conducting my negotiations with the Ministers of State and the Colonies, and was not making satisfactory progress. They had not recovered from the disappointment occasioned by the failure of the Senate to approve the reciprocity treaty of 1884, and were interposing conditions which I could not accept. I had been forced to appeal to the Prime Minister against their course, and a dinner at his palace where I was the guest of honor could not fail to impress them favorably. Before I bade him good-night after this dinner,

Señor Cánovas told me that he had instructed the Ministers that they must reach an agreement with me.

After this assurance from him the negotiations went more smoothly, and within a reasonable time I had the satisfaction of reaching an arrangement for the trade with Cuba and Porto Rico entirely satisfactory to the President and Secretary Blaine. I had brought with me full powers to sign a treaty, or what was termed the "reciprocity arrangement," but out of consideration for the sensitiveness of our resident American Minister, I decided to transfer the consummation of the arrangement to Washington, and it was accordingly signed by Secretary Blaine and the Spanish Minister there.

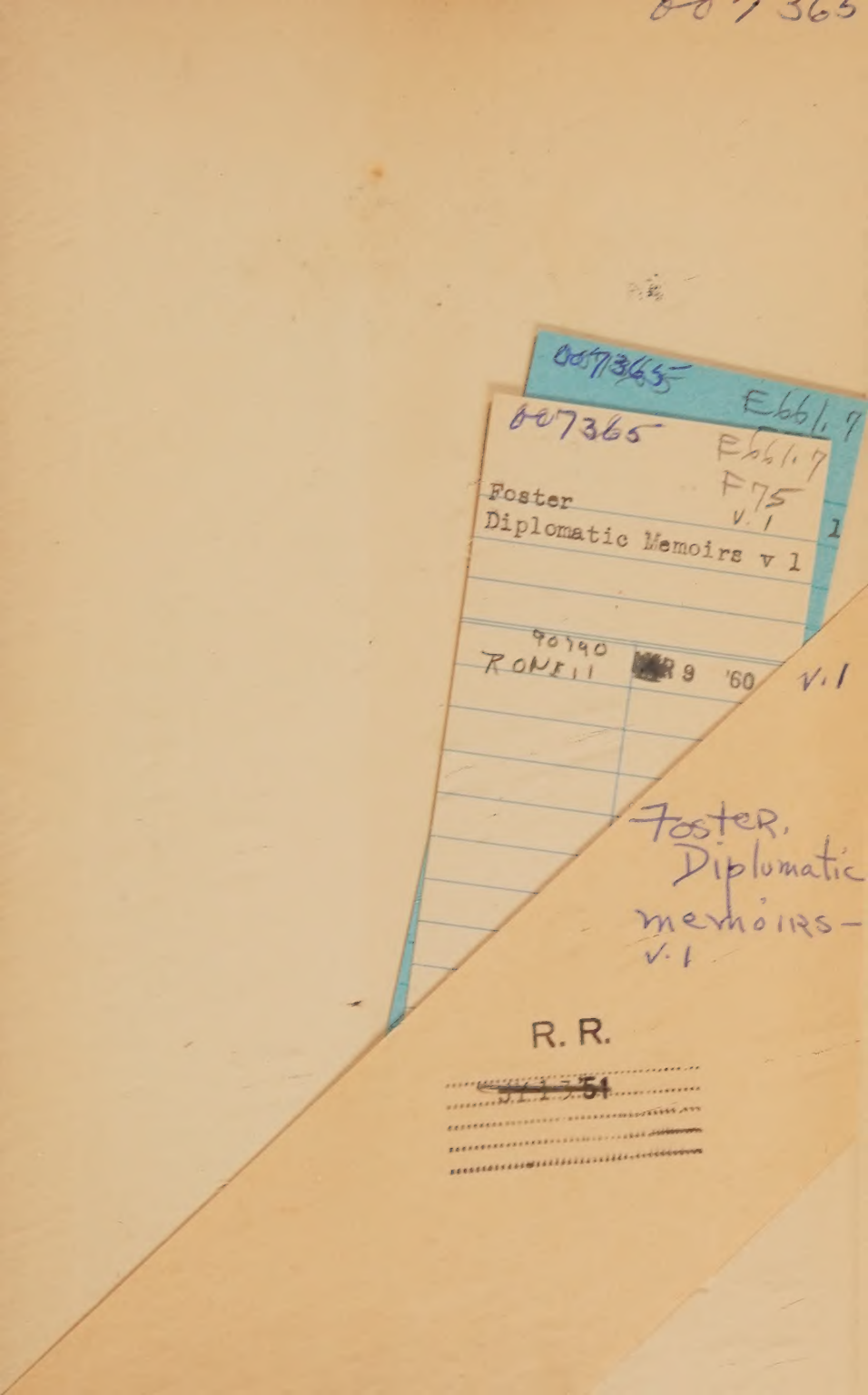
The time occupied on this special service, from the date of my departure from Washington to my return, covered six weeks. It was one of the most prompt and successful missions ever undertaken by me. The reciprocity arrangement went into effect without delay, and during the time it was in operation it largely increased American exports to the Spanish Antillas.

END OF VOLUME I

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE . MASSACHUSETTS
U . S . A

Date Due

MAR 9 '60			
Demco 293-5			


007365
E661.7
007365
E661.7
F75
Foster
V.1
Diplomatic Memoirs v 1
90190
RONELL
'60
V.1
Foster,
Diplomatic
memoirs-
v.1
R. R.
51